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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,
AND THE
ADJOINING COUNTRIES,
FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES.



Who so shall telle a tale after a man,
He moſte reherſe, as neighe as euer he can,
Everich worde, if it be in his charge,
All ſpeke he never ſo rudely and ſo large;
Or elles he moſte tellen his tale untrewe,
Or ſeinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

VOL. IX.

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THE

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THE

THE
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. I.

SIR WALTER DE PASSAC AND SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC ADVISE THE KING OF CASTILE NOT TO RISK A BATTLE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.—A PARTY OF THE ENGLISH SKIRMISH WITH THE GARRISON OF VILALPANDO.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS DISPIRITED BY HIS OWN ILL HEALTH AND THE GREAT SICKNESS OF HIS ARMY.

THE king of Castile, on hearing that the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster were fast approaching with so great a force, was much alarmed, and sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac, to whom he said,—‘I am exceedingly surprisid that the duke of Bourbon is not arrived. Our enemies have taken the field, and, if no one oppose them, will destroy my whole country. My subjects are very discontented that we do not offer them combat. Tell me, my fair sirs, how I had best act.’

These two lords, who, from great experience, knew more of arms than the king, and for this had they been sent from France to Castille, replied,— ‘ Sir king, depend upon it, the duke of Bourbon will come. On his arrival, we will consider what is to be done ; but, until then, do not make any preparations to meet your enemies. Let them make what excursions they please : they keep the field, and we the towns and castles, which are well provided with every thing, and garrisoned by good men at arms. They are suffering from the heat of the sun and weather, while we enjoy the shade and refreshing breezes. They have found the country wasted, and the further they advance they will have so much the greater scarcity of forage. It was for the chance of their entering your country, that all the small forts have been demolished, wherein the farmers intended placing their wealth. This was, sir king, wisely done ; for they would by their means have been enabled to keep possession of those parts where they now are ; but at present they can find nothing but what they have brought with them, except the great heat of a burning sun, which you may be assured must soon destroy them. Though all your towns and castles are well provided and garrisoned, we can believe that some may be attacked and won, for that is the delight of men at arms. In such way they love to pass their time, and for this do they seek adventures through the world. Do not, therefore, be any way cast down ; for in this business, we engage, you shall not suffer any great loss.’

This

This speech greatly comforted the king of Castille, and he was well pleased with them, for he felt that what they had said was truth.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, who, though they kept the field, would have willingly gained some town to refresh themselves; for the foragers could not find any thing, and were forced to unite in large bodies for fear of ambuscades. They were so hard pressed, that when, in their excursions, they saw at a distance a large village, they were rejoiced, and cried out, 'Come quick: let us hasten to that village, where we shall find enough to forage and to enrich ourselves.' They hastened their march; but, when arrived, they found only the bare walls: there were neither inhabitants, nor even a dog, nor fowl, so completely had the French ruined this part of the country. They thus lost their time and expectations, and returned to their lords empty handed. Their horses were in sorry condition from the want of proper food, and they were fortunate whenever they could meet with any green pastures. Some were so feeble they could not advance, and dropt dead on the road, through famine and heat. Their masters were not in a much better condition, from fevers caused by the oppressive heat in the day, and the chill of the nights, without having any thing proper to refresh or recover themselves. Thus was it in the duke's army; for the English have a weaker constitution than the Portuguese, who bore all these difficulties without hurt, being hardy and accustomed to the climate of Castille. In this me-

lancholy state were the English: many died of their disorders, more especially such as were not well attended, and had not wherewithal to provide proper remedies.

Sir Richard Burley, sir Thomas Percy, the lord Fitzwalter, sir Maubrun de Limieres, sir John d'Ambreticourt, Thierry and William de Soumain, with two hundred lances of such as were desirous to seek renown, mounted the best horses in the army, with the intent to surprize the french garrison in Vilalpando. They had heard that sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, had with him there, in garrison, some of the ablest knights of France. They left the army one morning, after drinking a cup, equipped like foragers, and came to a small brook that runs below Vilalpando, which they crossed by spurring their horses over it. The alarm was soon spread through the town, that the English were at the barriers. You would have seen, had you been there when this was known, knights arming themselves hastily, and advancing towards the lodgings of the constable, servants saddling horses and hurrying with them to their masters.

Sir Oliver du Guesclin would have restrained his companions from sallying forth to meet the English, had he been able; but their courage was too impetuous, so out they sallied, gallantly mounted on horses that had been inactive and well fed. Among the first were, sir John des Barres, the viscount de Besliere, sir Robert and sir John de Braquemont, sir Peter de Villaines, sir Tristan de la Jaille.

When the English had made their course before
the

the town, they repassed the brook in the same manner as before, and retreated to a large sand bank, when they drew up in handsome array, about three bow-shots distant from the brook. The french knights advanced, shouting their cries, with their spears in their rests; and, when near, the English being prepared, stuck spurs into their horses to meet them. The shock was very great; and several of each side were unhorsed on the sand. This would not have ended so speedily, and other weapons would have been resorted to when the lances failed; but the dust, from the movements of the horses, was so great and disagreeable, they could not know each other: their horses were covered with dust as well as themselves; and it was in such clouds that they could not breathe without swallowing large mouthfuls. This caused the attack to cease, and the French and English to withdraw from the combat: the first returned to Vilalpando. There was not any one slain, nor much hurt, on either side.

The english knights went not more than one league beyond Vilalpando before they returned to their army, when they disarmed themselves; for they were seized with fevers and other disorders, which brought them to death's door.

The duke of Lancaster was greatly dispirited, and knew not how to act; for he saw his army daily wasting away, and was grieved to find that the greater and better part were confined to their beds. He himself was so unwell, that if he had not been afraid to dishearten his men, he would gladly have
kept

kept his chamber. He addressed himself to the king of Portugal, and desired him to say what, in the present circumstances, should be done; for he was much alarmed at this mortality in his army.

The king replied; 'That, from appearances, it did not seem probable the Castillians would offer them combat at this season; for they shewed more inclination that they should waste themselves and their provision.' 'How then would you advise me to act?' asked the duke. 'I will tell you,' answered the king: 'as the weather is now so exceedingly hot, I would advise that you march your army into Galicia, and give your men permission to recruit themselves wherever they please; but to return prepared to recommence the campaign in March or April. Endeavour to procure large reinforcements from England, under the command of one of your brothers, and provision in plenty for the winter season. A kingdom is not soon conquered, nor a climate instantly rendered agreeable to the constitutions of strangers. Your army will be quartered in the different towns now under your obedience, and will pass their time as well as they can.'

'This may be right,' said the duke; 'but the consequences will be, that as soon as our enemies shall know we have separated, and are acquainted that you are retired to Portugal with your army, and I with mine to St. Jago or Corunna, they will take the field; for I have heard that the king of Castille has four thousand lances, French and Bretons, and he will collect as many, or more, in his
own

own country. Add to this, that the duke of Bourbon is on his march with two thousand men at arms, and will be eager to signalize himself on his arrival. Now, consider, should all this force enter Galicia, what is there to oppose it? Before we can collect our men and form a junction, they will have done us considerable damage.'

'Well, then,' replied the king of Portugal, 'in the name of God, let us keep the field: my men are fresh and unhurt, and equally willing with myself to abide the event.' The conference now broke up; and it was resolved they would wait the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, to see if, when he had joined the Castilians, they would offer them battle. The English and Portuguese desired nothing more eagerly; for the season was passing, and the heat increasing: it was about St. John's day, when the sun is at its height, and intolerably hot, especially in Castille, Granada, and countries far to the south. There had not fallen any rain nor dew since the beginning of April, so that the whole country was burnt up. The English ate plentifully of grapes wherever they found them; and, to quench their thirst, drank of the strong wines of Castille and Portugal: but the more they drank the more they were heated; for this new beverage inflamed their livers, lungs and bowels, and was in its effect totally different from their usual liquors. The English, when at home, feed on fresh meats and good rich ale, which is a diet to keep their bodies wholesome; but now they were forced to drink hard and hot wines, of which they were not sparing, to
drown

drown their cares. The early part of the night is warm, from the great heat of the day, but, toward sun-rise, it is very cold, which afflicted them sorely; for they slept without covering, and quite naked, from the heat of the weather, and the wine, so that when morning came they were chilled by the change of air, which checked all perspiration, and flung them into fevers and fluxes, so as to carry them off instantly to their graves. Thus died very many of the barons and knights, as well as of the lower ranks; for these disorders spared none.

CHAP. II.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DISBANDS HIS ARMY.—
THREE ENGLISH KNIGHTS, HAVING OBTAINED
PASSPORTS, WAIT ON THE KING OF CASTILLE,
TO NEGOTIATE A RETREAT FOR THE MEN AT
ARMS THROUGH HIS KINGDOM.

GOOD or evil fortune depends upon a trifle. You may readily believe that the duke of Lancaster, having gained a footing in Castille, would never have lost, by any defeat in battle, such numbers as he was now daily doing by sickness. He himself was almost dead of the pestilence I have mentioned. Sir John Holland, constable of the army, saw, with great concern, the miserable situation it was in from this disorder, from which scarcely
one

one escaped; and was forced, daily, to hear the complaints of high and low, in such terms as these,—‘Ah, my lord of Lancaster, why have you brought us to Castille? Accuried be the expedition. He does not, probably, wish that any Englishman should ever again quit his country to serve him. He seems resolved to kick against the pricks. He will have his men guard the country he has conquered; but when they shall all be dead, who will then guard it? He shews but poor knowledge of war; for, when he saw that no one came to oppose him, why did he not make an opportune retreat into Portugal or elsewhere, to avoid the losses he must now suffer; for we shall all die of the confounded disorder, and without having struck a blow.’

Sir John Holland was much hurt on hearing such language, for the honour of the duke, whose daughter he had married; and, as it was increasing, he determined to remonstrate with him on their situation, which he could, from his connection, more freely do than any other. He therefore addressed him,—‘My lord, you must immediately alter your plans, for your army is wholly laid up with sickness. If any attack should be now made on you, you could not draw any service from it; for the men are all worn down and discontented, and their horses dead. Both high and low are so discouraged by this disorder, that I repeat, you must not expect any service from them.’ ‘What can I do?’ replied the duke: ‘I wish to have such advice as is reasonable.’ ‘My lord,’ said sir John Holland, ‘I think
you

you had best give permission for your men to retire whithersoever they please; and I would advise that you yourself go to Portugal, or return to Galicia, for you are not in a state to undergo hardships.' 'That is well considered,' answered the duke: 'I consent to what you propose; and you may give our men notice, that I permit them to go into Castille, France, or wherever else they may choose, so they enter not into any treaty with our enemies; for I clearly see this campaign is over. Let them be fully paid for their services as far as our treasury can go, and also for the expences of their journey, and then make our chancellor deliver them their discharge.'

The constable replied, that he would see this done. He ordered the intentions of the duke to be signified throughout the army by sound of trumpet, and gave notice to the captains to come to him with their accounts, when they would be settled and paid, to their satisfaction. This order was agreeable to all, particularly to those who hoped change of air would restore them to health. The barons and knights held a council how they were to return to England: by sea it was impossible, for they had no vessels, and were at a distance from any sea-port. They were besides so emaciated and weak, from the fevers and fluxes, that they would have been unable to bear a sea voyage. Having considered the matter well, they found they had no other choice than through France; but some said,—'How can we go thither? we have enemies in all the countries we must pass. First, there is Castille: we are now carrying

carrying on a destructive war against it : then Navarre and Arragon. These two kingdoms are allied, the one to Castille, and the other to France. Arragon has already shewed its spite, for the sénéchal of Bourdeaux informs us, that since our arrival in this country, he has thrown the archbishop of Bourdeaux into prison at Barcelona, who had gone thither to demand from the king the arrears that are due to England. Should we send to ask passports from France, the journey would take up too much time ; and, when our messenger should be arrived, we have little hopes that the king, who is young, or his council, would grant them ; for the constable of France, sir Oliver de Clifton, hates us mortally, and this is increased by his imagining his enemy, the duke of Brittany, intends turning to England.' Others, who were farther sighted and of more sense, said,—' Let all doubts be laid aside. The best thing we can do is to try the king of Castille, who may perhaps not only allow us to pass peaceably through his country, but also obtain for us the same permission from Arragon, France and Navarre.'

This measure was adopted, and a herald, called Derby, sent for, to whom were given letters addressed to the king of Castille. The herald set off, and followed the road to Medina del Campo, where the king then resided. When in his presence, he cast himself on his knees and presented his letters, which were written in French. When the king had read them, and understood their meaning, he smiled, and, turning to a knight who was the steward

steward of his household, said,—‘ Take care of this herald: he shall have his answer to-night, that he may return early to-morrow morning.’

The king entered his closet, and sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac, to whom he shewed the letters, and asked what answer he should send. The substance of these letters was, in a few words, as follows. Sir John Holland, constable of the english army, desired the king of Castille to send passports for three knights to come to him and return, that they might have a conference with him.

The two knights replied,—‘ It will, my lord, be right that you grant these passports, for then you will know what it is they want.’ ‘ I agree to it,’ said the king, and instantly ordered a passport to be drawn out for the coming and return of six knights, if it were agreeable to the constable, with their attendants. When this was sealed with the great seal, and with the king’s signet, it was given to the herald, and twenty francs with it: having received the whole, he returned to the duke of Lancaster and the constable at Orense.

The herald gave the constable the passport, who appointed sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir Thomas Moreaux and sir John d’Ambreticourt, ambassadors to the king of Castille. They set off as soon as possible, for there was much want of physicians and medicines, as well as of fresh meat for the numerous sick who were scattered in different parts. These ambassadors passed through Vilalpando, where sir Oliver du Guesclin received them handsomely, and entertained

entertained them at supper. On the morrow, one of the knights called Timtemach, a Breton, was their conductor, to secure them against the numerous parties of Bretons which were abroad.

They arrived safely at Medina del Campo, where they found the king impatient to know what had brought them thither. When they had refreshed and dressed themselves at an hôtel that had been prepared for them, they were conducted by some knights of the household to the presence of the king, who apparently received them with pleasure. They presented him letters from the constable, but from none else; for the duke of Lancaster excused himself, and would not at this time, nor on such a subject, write to him.

The knights and squires of France were not present at this interview, although they were of the king's privy council, and nothing was done respecting the war without their consent. The ambassadors addressed the king, saying; 'Sir king, we are come hither on the part of the constable of the army the duke of Lancaster has brought from England. But unfortunately very great sicknesses and mortality have befallen it: the constable therefore entreats, that you would have the goodness to open your country and towns to such as may desire to try change of air for the recovery of their health, if it may be recovered, and to enter your towns to recruit their strength; and if some should wish to return to England by land, he begs you would interest yourself with the kings of France and Navarre, that they may, at their own costs, freely pass through

through their territories, in their way home. This is the sole object of our mission, and the request we have to make you.'

The king very graciously replied, ' We will consider what will be proper for us to do, and give you our answer.' The knights replied, they were satisfied.

CHAP. III.

THE ENGLISH AMBASSADORS OBTAIN PASSPORTS FROM THE KING FOR THEIR SICK TO PASS IN SAFETY THROUGH CASTILLE, OR TO REMAIN THERE, TO RECOVER THEIR HEALTH.—MANY KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES DIE IN CASTILLE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DANGEROUSLY ILL AT SANT JAGO.

THE english knights, on taking leave of the king, went to their lodgings, where they remained until the third day, when they returned to the palace. The king of Castille was much rejoiced at their request; for he saw there would be an end of the war for a long time, when his enemies solicited leave to march peaceably through his kingdom. He was determined what answer to make, though his council had advised otherwise; and, wishing to pay due honour to the french knights, he sent for sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac. Having explained to them
the

the object of the english knights' embassy, and the request of the constable, he demanded from them how he should act ; and desired sir Walter to give him his opinion.

Sir Walter was unwilling to speak before the members of the council ; but, as the king would have it so, he said,—‘ Sir, matters are come to the conclusion we always foretold, that your enemies would be worn down and destroyed, without striking a blow. Since their sick so humbly ask assistance and comfort in your country, you should grant their request ; but on condition that, if they recover, they do not return to the duke of Lancaster or to the king of Portugal, but continue their road straight homeward, and that they engage not to bear arms against you, nor the realm of Castille, for the term of six years. We also hope you may be successful in obtaining leave for them to pass with safety through Navarre and France.’

The king was well contented with this advice, for it was what he was inclined to ; and he was indifferent what terms were made, so that he got rid of the English. He replied to sir Walter ; ‘ You have loyally counselled me, and I thank you : it shall be done as you propose.’

The english knights were sent for, and conducted into the presence chamber, where were the king and his whole council. The bishop of Burgos, as chancellor, and a great orator, thus addressed them ; ‘ Ye knights of England, attached to the duke

duke of Lancaster, who have been sent hither by his constable, listen to the answer the king gives to your requests. Out of his great pity and goodness, he is desirous of doing to his enemies all the kindness in his power. On your return to the constable, you will tell him from the king of Castille, that he may publish, by sound of trumpet, throughout his army, that this country is open and ready to receive sick or well, all knights, squires and their attendants, who may be desirous of coming hither, on condition that, at the gates of whatever city or town they may wish to enter, they there lay aside their armour and arms, when they will be conducted, by those ordered for the purpose, to hôtels prepared for them. They will then have their names written down and delivered to the governor, in order that those who may have resided in any towns may not, on any pretext whatever, return to Galicia or Portugal, but quit the country as soon as may be. In addition, the king of Castille engages to obtain a safe passage for such as may intend to go to Calais, or any other sea-port they may choose, in Brittany, Saintonge, Normandy or Picardy, through the kingdoms of France and Navarre. It is the king's command, that those knights and squires, of whatever nation they be, who shall undertake this journey, do not bear arms against the kingdom of Castille, under any pretence, for the space of six years: this they will solemnly swear to observe at the time the passports are delivered to them. You will carry with
you

you all these conditions, fairly written, to the constable, and to your companions who have sent you hither.'

The knights thanked the king and his council for the answer they had received, but added, 'they would not say that all the conditions should be accepted: if they were not, they would send back their herald; and, should he not return, they might conclude the whole were accepted.' 'We are satisfied,' replied the council.

The king withdrew to his closet; but sir Walter de Passac and sir William de Lignac remained with the knights, and conducted them to a handsome apartment where a dinner was provided for them. They all dined together: when dinner was over, they partook of wines and spices in the king's closet, and then took their leave, as their passes were ready for them. On their return to their hôtel, they instantly mounted their horses; for the king's harbingers had supplied them with all things at his expense, and, leaving Medina, they rode to Villeclope, where they lay that night. On the morrow, they dined at Vilalpando, and lay at Noya. The next day they came to Orense, where they found the constable. During the time they had been on this embassy, the lord Fitzwalter*,

* Lord Fitzwalter. See Dugdale, who mentions his gallantry in the attack on the block-house, before Brest, but omits taking notice of his death in Spain. Indeed he only says, that—'he departed this life the year ensuing (10th Richard II.) on a Wednesday preceding the feast of St. Michael.'

This does not tally with the season of the year when the heats are so great in Spain.

one of the greatest barons in the duke's army, had died : he was a valiant knight, and much lamented ; but none can strive against death. His obsequies were very honourably performed, and the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster attended them.

The three knights waited on the duke, to shew him their papers, and relate what they had seen and heard. Some said, the conditions were hard ; but others denied it, and said they were courteous enough, considering the situation and danger they were in. It was known in the army, that the duke would discharge all who desired it, and that they might enter Castille with safety. Those who were ill, or feeble, and wished to change the air, took leave of the duke and constable, and left the army as soon as they were able ; but, before their departure, many received their whole pay in hard money, others had such sufficient security for it, so that they were all well contented. Some went to Vilalpando, others to Ruelles, to Noya, to Medina del Campo, to Caleforis or to St. Phagon. They were every where well received, and had lodgings found them, and had their names written down and given to the different governors in the manner I have mentioned.

The greater part of the nobility went to Vilalpando, because it was garrisoned by foreigners, Bretons, French, Normans and Poitevins, under the command of sir Oliver du Gueclin. The English had more confidence in those I have named, and with reason, than in the Castillians.

Thus

Thus was the expedition of the duke of Lancaster put an end to, and every one fought the best he could for himself. You may suppose this was a bitter disappointment to the duke, for he saw all his ambitious expectations annihilated : he bore, however, his misfortune like a gallant prince as he was, for he perceived he could not any way amend it.

The king of Portugal, finding the business was over, dismissed his army, retaining only three hundred spears, and left Orense, with the duke of Lancaster, who returned with his duchess to Sant Jago de Compostella.

The king remained there with them four days : on the fifth he departed, with all who had accompanied him, for Oporto, where his queen resided.

I must now relate what befel many of those knights and squires who, on leaving the duke, had retired into Castille, and were lodged in different towns. Those who had been afflicted with the disorder, notwithstanding they had changed the air and medicines, could never recover, and several died in Vilalpando. Many barons and knights of England died in their beds, to the great loss of their country, while the king of Castille was obtaining for them passports to travel through Navarre and France ; but the distance, and other obstacles, delayed the accomplishment.

Three great and powerful barons died at Vilalpando ; sir Richard Burley, who had been chief marshal of the army, the lord Poinings*, and sir

* Lord Poinings. See Dugdale,

Henry Percy, cousin-german to the earl of Northumberland. Sir Maubrun de Linieres died at Noya: he was a valiant and able knight from Poitou. Lord Talbot*, a great baron in Wales, died at Ruelles: and of this pestilence there died, in different places, twelve potent barons, full eighty knights, and two hundred squires, all gentlemen. Consider what an unfortunate loss this was, and to be sustained without having a battle or striking a blow. Of archers and other men, upwards of five hundred died; and I was told by an English knight with whom I conversed, on his return through France, whose name was sir Thomas Queensbury, that of fifteen hundred men at arms and about four thousand archers whom the duke of Lancaster had brought with him from England, not one half ever returned home.

The duke of Lancaster fell dangerously sick, and became very low spirited, at Sant Jago. He was so ill, that it was frequently reported through Castille and France that he was dead: indeed, he very narrowly escaped. Thierry de Soumain, who was of great valour and squire of the body to the duke, was attacked by this disorder, and died at Betancos. - He was born in Hainault, and his death was much bewailed. His brother William continually attended him during his illness, by which he ran great risk of his life. You must know, that there were none so bold, so rich or so fair, but were afraid, and were daily expecting death. The

* This must be a mistake, for lord Talbot did not die until the 20th Richard II.—DUGDALE.

disorder solely attacked the duke's army, for the French were no way affected. This caused great murmurings among them and the Castillians : they said, ' The king allows these English to recruit themselves in his towns, which may cost us dear by their bringing the disorder among us.' But others replied, ' They are Christians like ourselves, and we ought to have compassion on each other.' True it is, that at this period a french knight died in Castille, who was greatly lamented ; for he was courteous, gallant and bold in arms : his name was sir John de Roye, and he was brother-german to sir Tristan, sir Reginald and sir Lancelot de Roye. I will relate the cause of his death. While in garrison in a town of Castille, called Segbonne, he had an imposthume in his body. Being young and lusty, he paid no attention to it, and one day mounting his courser, in galloping him over the plains, this imposthume broke. On his return, he was laid on the bed, and all seemed well, but on the fourth day he died. There were very great lamentations made after him by all his friends : he was deserving of them for his amiable character and gallantry in arms.

CHAP. IV,

SIR JOHN HOLLAND TAKES LEAVE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AND RETURNS WITH HIS LADY, THROUGH CASTILLE, NAVARRE AND BAYONNE, TO BORDEAUX.—SIR JOHN D'AMBRETICOURT GOES TO PARIS, TO ACCOMPLISH A DEED OF ARMS WITH THE LORD BOUCICAUT.

NOTWITHSTANDING this disorder was so very infectious that the greater part of the English fled from it, sir John Holland and several knights and squires remained with the duke. The knights, seeing there was an end to the war, were impatient to change the air, and said to the constable,—‘ Sir, permit us to set out on our return to Bayonne or Bordeaux, to escape the effect of this pestilence, for our lord of Lancaster desires it. When he shall wish to have our services, he can easily so do by writing his commands; and we shall serve him more effectually when we have recovered our health than in the state of languor we now fatally experience.’ They repeated this so often that sir John Holland told the duke of their discontents. The duke answered,—‘ Sir John, I am willing that you and such knights as choose, set out on your return home, and that you take all our people with you. Recommend me to my lord the king,
and

and salute from me my brothers, and such and such persons, whom he named.'

'I will cheerfully do so,' replied the constable; 'but, my lord, are you aware, that though the council of Castille has handsomely allowed our sick to enter any towns they may please for the recovery of their health, they must not, when well, return to you in Galicia, nor in Portugal? And if we pass through France, in our road to Calais, the french knights of the council of Castille have conditioned that we do not arm against France for the space of six years, unless the king of England command in person.'

'Sir John,' said the duke, 'you must know that the French, whenever they have an opportunity, will take every advantage over us. But I will tell you how you shall act. You will pass through Castille in a courteous manner, and, when you shall be on the frontiers of Navarre, send to the king: he is our cousin: formerly we were strongly united, and the connection is not broken; for, ever since we bore arms for him in his war against our adversary of Castille, we have constantly kept up a mutual correspondence, like cousins and friends. We have never had any quarrel, nor have we, like the French, made war upon him. For these reasons, he will readily grant permission for you and your men to pass through his country. On your arrival at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, take the road through Biscay to Bayonne: that is our inheritance: and thence you may go to Bordeaux without any danger from the French, to refresh yourselves.

yourſelves. When recovered, you may there embark, traverſe the deep, and land in Cornwall or Southampton, as the wind may be favourable.’

Sir John replied, he would punctually follow the plan he had laid down, and began to make his preparations accordingly. It was not long after this that the conſtable, with all the men at arms and others, took their departure; and the duke and duchefs remained at Sant Jago, attended by their houſehold only. Sir John Holland carried his lady with him, and arrived at the city of Camores*, which is large and handſome, where he met the king of Caſtille, ſir Walter de Paſſac and ſir William de Lignac. They politely received him and his company, as lords do when they meet. In truth, the king was more rejoiced at the departure of the Engliſh than at their arrival; for it ſeemed clear to him that the war was completely at an end, and that the duke of Lancaſter would never be able to bring again ſo large a force to Caſtille from England, for he was well informed how much that country was diſunitied within itſelf.

When the Engliſh, who had retired to the towns in Caſtille for the recovery of their healths, heard that ſir John Holland was on his march with the remnant of the army homeward, they were greatly rejoiced, and made inſtant preparations to join him. Among the number were, the lord de Chameaux†, ſir Thomas Percy, the lord de

* Camores. Q. † Lord de Chameaux. Q. Camois.

Leluyton

Leluyton* and the lord Bradestan, with many more, to the amount of a thousand horse. Those that were sick looked on themselves as half recovered the moment their hopes were raised of returning to England, so much had they of late suffered.

When sir John Holland took leave of the king of Castille, he shewed to him and his barons much affection, and gallantly presented them with handsome mules: he likewise ordered all the expenses of their journey to be defrayed.

On their departure, they took the road to St. Phagon, where they rested three days: they were well received in all places they passed; for they were accompanied by some knights of the king's household, who paid for whatever they wanted or wished. They continued their route until they were out of Castille, and arrived at Najara, where the famous battle had been fought, then they proceeded to Pamiers† and Logroño, where they halted; for they were uncertain if the king of Navarre would allow them to pass through his kingdom.

They deputed to him two knights, whose names were sir Peter Bisset and sir William Norwich, who found the king at Tudela. They had an interview with him, and managed so well, they obtained permission to pass, on paying for whatever they should want. When the knights returned, they left Logroño, for Pampeluna, and passed the Py-

* Lord Leluyton. Q.

† Pamiers. Q.

renées

Nrenées at Roncevalles : they then quitted the road for Béarn, and took that through Biscay, for Bayonne, where they arrived. Sir John Holland and his countess remained there a considerable time, but several of his countrymen continued their route to Bordeaux. Thus ended this expedition of the duke of Lancaster.

It happened, during the most active part of the campaign in Castille, when knights and squires were eager after adventures and deeds of arms, that the lord Boucicaut had taken the field, and had sent a herald to demand from sir John d'Ambreticourt three courses with spears on horseback. Sir John had agreed to meet him, with the addition of three courses with daggers, and the same with battle-axes, all on horseback. Sir John, having so readily assented, fought for him every where ; but I know not for what reason he had not advanced to that part of the country. I do not, however, say, nor mean to say, that the lord Boucicaut was not equal to such a challenge, nor even to one of more hardy adventure.

When sir John d'Ambreticourt was at Bayonne, with sir John Holland, he thought much on this challenge, which, having accepted, he considered himself bound to accomplish ; and that he could not honourably leave France without doing so, lest the French might say he had returned to England dishonourably. He consulted his companions, but especially sir John Holland, how to act. He was advised to pass through France, as he had a good passport, which the duke of Bourbon

bon had obtained for him, and go to Paris in search of the lord Boucicaut: he might hear of him on his road, or at Paris, and the matter would be settled to his honour.

This advice being agreeable to him, he departed, and took the road through the country of the Basques, and came to Orthès in Béarn, where he found the count de Foix. The count received him handsomely, detained him some short time, and, on his going away, presented him with two hundred florins and a very fine horse. Sir John d'Ambreticourt continued his road through Béarn, Bigorre, the Toulousain and Carcassonois. He was accompanied by William de Soumain and other squires from Hainault, who were returning to their own country. On their arrival at Paris, he learnt that the king was at that moment in Normandy, and the lord Boucicaut, as they said, in Arragon. Sir John, to acquit himself honourably, waited on the principal barons of France that were then at Paris, and having staid there eight days to amuse himself, he continued his journey to Calais, and those from Hainault went home. Thus were the different captains of the army of Castille separated.

CHAP. V.

THE DUKE OF BOURBON, ON LEAVING AVIGNON, CONTINUES HIS MARCH TO BURGOS, WHERE HE MEETS THE KING OF CASTILLE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER BEING INFORMED OF THIS, ADDRESSES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON, AFTER A SHORT STAY, TAKES LEAVE OF THE KING OF CASTILLE, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE.

THE duke of Bourbon, who had been nominated commander in chief of the French in Castille, was duly informed of every thing that was passing; but, had he imagined the king of Castille had been so much pressed, he would have hastened his march; for he had taken a long time on his journey, and, beside, had followed a round-about road. He went first to Avignon, to visit the person who styled himself pope Clement, where he staid some time, then to Montpelier, where he halted five days, and as many at Bezieres and Carcaffone; from thence he went to Narbonne and Perpignan, and entered Arragon; for he was desirous of seeing the young king of Arragon and his cousin, the lady Jolante de Bar. The duke continued his journey to Barcelona, where he met the king and queen of Arragon, with

with a numerous body of earls and barons of the country, who had come thither to receive and feast him.

When he had been thus entertained for the space of six days, he departed, and went to Valencia. It was there he first heard that the english army had retreated, and that sir John Holland had led the greater part into Navarre; that there had been a great mortality among the English; and that his cousin, the duke of Lancaster, lay dangerously ill at Sant Jago: the report was, that he was actually dead. Notwithstanding this intelligence, which rendered his march useless, he continued advancing, and informed the king of Castille of his arrival; who was much rejoiced thereat, and appointed the city of Burgos for their place of meeting. The king ordered all things to be properly prepared in that city for his reception, and went thither; for many of the French, who were with him, were anxious to see the duke of Bourbon. The duke, having passed Valencia and Saragossa, entered Castille and came to Burgos. He was most kindly received by the king, barons and prelates of the realm. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, constable of Castille, sir William de Lignac, sir Walter de Passac, sir John des Barres, sir John and sir Reginald de Roze, and several knights of France, were present, who had left their garrisons to meet the duke of Bourbon. They had no longer any fears of the English or Portuguese, for they had all retreated, and the English had already given up those towns they had conquered in Galicia; for they knew that,

as their army had left the country, they could not withstand the power of France.

The news was carried to Galicia that the duke of Bourbon was arrived in Castille, with a large body of men at arms from France ; and, as it was spoken of, this force was multiplied to more than double its number. The country, at first, was alarmed, lest the duke of Bourbon should march thither to reconquer such towns as had surrendered ; and though the duke of Lancaster was with them, and comforted them as much as he could, they could not get rid of their fears.

When the duke of Lancaster heard his cousin, the duke of Bourbon, was with the king of Castille at Burgos, he instantly sent to the king of Portugal, to entreat he would not disband his army ; for he knew not what the French might intend, now the country was in so defenceless a state.

The king of Portugal, having dismissed his army, was desirous to oblige the duke, from the connection between them, and left Lisbon for Coimbra, whence he issued a summons, for all men at arms instantly to prepare themselves and march to Oporto, to the assistance of the duke of Lancaster, whose illness would not suffer him to take the field in person, although he was daily recovering his health.

The duke of Bourbon remained with the king of Castille at Burgos, where he received the greatest honours from the king, the barons and lords of the realm. Many councils were held, as to what they should now do : whether to enter Galicia or return to France. The king and his ministers saw very clearly

clearly which was most to their advantage, and said, when together,—‘ Our country is ruined and wasted by the French ; and although they have defended it against the English, we have paid dear enough. It will be but just we thank the duke of Bourbon for the trouble he has had in coming hither, and entreat him, through affection to us, to withdraw his men, for there was not now any appearance of war to detain them ; that as for Galicia, they could invade and conquer that province themselves, whenever they pleased, as it was a trifling matter.’ The king’s ministers added ; ‘ If we keep these men, they will expect pay, and, if that be not given to them, they will rob and plunder the country. There are, already, many discontents on this subject ; and it behoves us to dismiss them in a handsome manner.’

This measure was adopted ; for the king knew well that his kingdom could not be hurt, without his suffering from it. The archbishop of Burgos therefore, in the presence of the king and many knights from France, proposed the matter to the duke of Bourbon. The duke, as well as his knights, instantly agreed to it ; for they most certainly preferred returning to France, which is a different country in all respects from Castille, and gave their orders accordingly.

The duke of Bourbon, though he came the last, was the first to return, and declared his intentions were, to pass through Navarre, that his people might make preparations for so doing. On taking his leave of the king, very rich presents were made him :

him: he might have had more, had he chosen it, but he refused several that were pressed on him, and accepted only mules, horses, and dogs called Allans* in Castille.

Proclamation was made for all persons to leave Castille and return to France, according to the orders which had been given by the commander in chief; but sir Oliver du Guesclin and the marshal, with about three hundred lances, Bretons, Poitevins and Saintongers, were to remain behind. The duke of Bourbon, having taken leave of the king, queen, and barons, was escorted as far as Logroño, when he entered Navarre. Wherever he passed, he was most honourably received, for the duke was courteous, gallant and much renowned.

The king of Navarre entertained him very kindly, and shewed not any appearance of the hatred he bore to the king of France for having seized his inheritance of the county d'Evreux in Normandy. He knew that the present king, who was so nearly related to the duke of Bourbon, was no way to blame, for at the time he was an infant. He mentioned his complaints in an amicable manner to the duke, and entreated him to mediate between him and his cousin of France, for which he should hold

* 'Allan,—a kind of big, strong, thick-headed and short-snouted dog; the brood whereof came first out of Albania, old Epirus.'

'Allan de boucherie, like a mastiff,—Allan gentil, somewhat like a greyhound,—Allan sautre, a cur to bait wolves, &c.—COTGRAVE'S DICTIONARY.

himself

himself much obliged. The duke promised to use his endeavours; and on this they parted, and the duke continued his journey with his men at arms peaceably through Navarre, and, having crossed the mountains at Roncesvalles and traversed the country of Basques, entered Béarn at Sauveterre.

CHAP. VI.

THE COUNT DE FOIX RECEIVES THE DUKE OF BOURBON MOST MAGNIFICENTLY, AND MAKES HIM HANDSOME PRESENTS.—THE MEN AT ARMS WHO WERE UNDER SIR WALTER DE PASSAC AND SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC SACK THE TOWN OF ST. PHAGON, ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM CASTILLE.—THE KING IS VERY WROTH FOR THIS AGAINST THE TWO CAPTAINS, WHO HAD REMAINED WITH HIM.

COUNT Gaston de Foix was well pleased, on hearing the duke of Bourbon was at Sauveterre. He summoned to Orthès, where he resided, a gallant company of chivalry, and set out with a grand array of five hundred knights and squires excellently mounted. They had advanced two leagues before they met the duke, who was likewise attended by a large company of knights and squires. On their meeting, they embraced and shewed every token of friendship, such as well-educated princes

know how to do. After they had conversed together a short space, as I was informed when at Orthès, the count de Foix withdrew with his company into the plain, but the duke remained where they had met. Then three knights, fir Espaign de Lyon, fir Peter Campestan and fir Menault de Nouailles advanced to the duke, and said,—‘My lord, we come to offer you a present from the count de l’oix on your return from Castille, as he knows you have been at a heavy expense. He first welcomes you to his country of Béarn, and presents you with eight thousand florins, this mule, two courfers and two palfreys.’ ‘My fair sirs,’ replied the duke, ‘I am very much obliged to the count de Foix. With regard to the florins, we cannot receive them; but as for the rest we accept them with great pleasure.’ The florins were therefore returned, and the horses and mule kept. Shortly afterward, the count placed himself beside the duke, and conducted him, under his pennon, to Orthès, when he was lodged in the castle, and his attendants in the town.

The duke of Bourbon remained for three days at Orthès, magnificently entertained with dinners and suppers. The count de Foix shewed him good part of his state, which would recommend him to such a person as the duke of Bourbon. On the fourth day, he took his leave and departed. The count made many presents to the knights and squires attached to the duke, and to such an extent that I was told this visit of the duke of Bourbon cost him ten thousand francs.

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The duke took his road to France by Montpelier, the city of Puy, and county of Forêts, of which he was lord in right of his ducheys. Though the duke of Bourbon had thus left Castille, the men at arms under sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac were not impatient to do so. They were upwards of three thousand spears and six thousand others, who in small parties were daily quitting the country. Many of them, having expended their pay, and being weary of the war, set out on their return ill mounted and in rags, so that the meeting them was unfortunate, for they dismounted such as were on horseback, and made war on all passengers, and on whoever had remained in the open country, whether churchmen or not, and plundered them, under the pretext that the king of Castille had not given them their pay, and that they had been ruined by the war. They said they would pay themselves, and all towns not well inclosed were under great alarms.

Every place shut its gates against them, for whatever they could find was seized on unless well fought for. Such knights and squires as returned through Foix, and waited on the count, were well received by him, and received magnificent presents. I was told that this expedition, including the going to Castille and return, cost the count de Foix, by his liberalities, upwards of forty thousand francs.

After the departure of the duke of Bourbon, an accident befel the town of St. Phagon, that I am about to relate, which caused the deaths of five hundred men. You must know, that when sir

William de Lignac and fir Walter de Passac first came into Castille, their force, which was very considerable, quartered themselves over the country near St. Phagon, which is rich, and abundant in all sorts of provision.

Among these men at arms were many Bretons, Poitevins, Saintongers, who, riding first to St. Phagon, entered the town in parties of six, ten, fifteen and twenty, so that at last they amounted to more than five hundred, including servants. As they entered, they lodged themselves, and began to pillage and pack up every valuable they could find.

The inhabitants, noticing their conduct, secretly closed their gates, that no more should enter; and, when these strangers thought to repose themselves, the townsmen cried, 'To arms!' and, entering the chambers where they lay, slew them without pity or mercy: happy were they who could escape, for they murdered upwards of five hundred.

News of this was brought, in the morning, to the french lords quartered near the town, and they held a council to consider how they should act. They thought it improper at the moment to retaliate on them for this conduct, for if they should begin by burning towns and villages, the whole country would rise against them, to the great joy of their enemies; but they determined that, when the expedition should be ended, and they on their return, they would then talk to them, and make them pay severely.

When this army was on its return to France, which included all except those who remained with
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sir Oliver du Guesclin, they said among themselves, 'Our arrival at St. Phagon cost us dear, but they shall fully repay us on our return.' They were all of this mind, and, having assembled about one thousand, they entered the town, as there was neither guard nor watch; for the townsmen had forgotten what had passed, and hoped the French had done so likewise, and that no more quarrels would happen between them. It was not so, to their great loss; for, when they thought themselves secure, the cry of 'To arms!' resounded from more than one hundred places, accompanied with voices shouting, 'Let us kill and destroy all the scoundrels of this town, and plunder what they may have, in revenge for their murders of our countrymen.' The Bretons instantly began to put these threats into execution, and to enter every house where they expected pillage, killing the inhabitants, breaking open desks and trunks, and doing every mischief in their power. There were, this day, more than four hundred slaughtered, the town robbed and half burned, which was a great pity. Such was the revenge the companions took on St. Phagon, and then marched away.

Intelligence was sent to the king of Castille that the men at arms, who had been under sir William de Lignac and sir Walter de Passac, had, on their return, pillaged the good town of St. Phagon, murdered upwards of four hundred of its inhabitants, and set the town on fire. They added, that if the English had taken it even by storm, they would not have treated it so cruelly. At the time this was told

told the king, the two above-named knights were with him, and were severely reprimanded by him and his council. They excused themselves, saying, —‘ That as God may help them, they were ignorant of the intentions of their men : they had, indeed, heard they were much displeased with the inhabitants of St. Phagon, who, on their coming to Castille, had murdered many of their companions, for which revenge had lurked in their hearts; but that, in truth, they thought it had been forgotten.’

The king of Castille was forced to pass it over, as it might have cost him more had he thought of punishing it; but he was very ill pleased with these two commanders, which he shewed, when they took leave of him to return to France. Had he been contented with them, it may be supposed they would have had more magnificent presents. The duke of Bourbon, his knights and squires, having quitted the king to his satisfaction, and left the country first, had carried off the flower of the presents.

The French marched out of Castille in various directions, some through Biscay, others through Arragon. Many knights and squires, who had lived on their pay, disdaining to plunder, returned poor and forrily mounted; while others, who had seized on whatever they could meet with, were well furnished with gold and silver, and heavy trunks. Thus it happens, in these adventures, some gain and others lose. The king of Castille was very much rejoiced when he found himself and kingdom freed from such men.

CHAP. VII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LEAVES SANT JAGO, FOR
COIMBRA, AND THENCE GOES TO BAYONNE.

WE will return to the duke of Lancaster, whom we left ill in bed at Sant Jago, where he resided with his duchess and daughter Catharine. You may suppose, the duke felt many mortifications, from the complete failure of his hopes of the crown of Castille, and the great loss of his chivalry, whom he daily and nightly lamented, and whom he had brought with such difficulty from England. He had now no expectation of making a treaty of peace that should allow the duchess any right to the crown, or yield up, by way of composition, to her any part of the kingdom; for he had heard from pilgrims to Sant Jago, from Brabant, Hainault and other countries, who had passed through the french army in Castille, that the Castillians and French made their jokes on him, saying to the pilgrims,—‘Ye are going to Sant Jago, are ye? Ye will find there the duke of Lancaster, who, for fear of the sun, keeps his chamber. Give our compliments to him, and ask him, on his faith, if we French know how to make war, and if we have not fought him fairly, and if he be contented with us. The English used to say, that we knew better how to dance and sing than

than to fight ; but the tables are now turned : it is they who repose and sing, and we keep the field and guard our frontiers, so that we have not lost any thing.'

The duke of Lancaster, like a wise man, bore all this patiently, for he could not do otherwise ; and, when he was able to ride, he departed from Sant Jago with his duchess and family. The king of Portugal had sent his constable, the count de Novaire, and sir John Fernando Portelet, with five hundred lances, to escort him. Among these knights were the Ponnasse d'Acunha, Egeas Colle, Vasco Martin de Merlo, Galopes Fernando, sir Alvarez Perez, John Radighos de Sar, Gaynes de Falnes, all barons. With this escort, the duke and his family left Compostella, and continued their march to Oporto, where the king and queen of Portugal were waiting for them, and entertained them handsomely.

Soon after the arrival of the duke, the king and queen left Oporto, and went to Coimbra, which is but one day's journey distant. The duke of Lancaster remained there for two months, and attended to his affairs, and to the making of preparations for his departure. By the king's orders, the high admiral of Portugal, don Alphonso Brecart, had equipped some galleys for his reception ; on board of which, when the weather and wind were favourable, they embarked, and, weighing anchor, took to the deep, and in one day and a half were at Bayonne, which is upwards of seventy-two leagues. On their arrival, they were disappointed in not meeting

meeting fir John Holland and the other English ; but they had left it for Bordeaux, where they had embarked, and had landed in England.

The duke of Lancaster made a long residence at Bayonne, and enforced the payments of arrears, and other dues from the duchy of Aquitaine, and such parts as were under the obedience of king Richard ; for he had a commission to impose and receive all taxes to his own use, and he stiled himself duke and governor of Aquitaine. We will now leave the duke and the English, until it shall be proper to return to them, and speak of other matters.

CHAP. VIII.

THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC TAKES GREAT PAINS
TO PREVAIL ON THE FREE COMPANIES TO
GIVE UP THEIR FORTS FOR A SUM OF MONEY.
—THE COUNT DE FOIX, UNDERHAND, PRE-
VENTS HIS SUCCESS.

THE count d'Armagnac, at this period, resided in Auvergne, and was negotiating with such free companions as held forts in Auvergne, Quercy and Limousin. The count took great pains, from his attachment to France, to make the leaders of these garrisons, who did great mischief to the country, surrender them up, and depart to other places.

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All the captains, except Geoffry Tête-noir, who held Ventadour, seemed willing to accept his terms, and receive, in one sum, two hundred and fifty thousand francs. On payment of this sum, they were all to quit the country, which would gladly have seen them depart; for the inhabitants could not till the earth, nor carry on trade, for fear of these pillagers, unless they had entered into composition with them, according to their wealth and rank; and these compositions amounted, in the year, to as much as was now demanded for the evacuation of the forts.

Although these garrisons made war under pretext of being English, there were very few of that nation; but the greater part Gascons, Germans and Foixiens, and from different countries, who had united together to do mischief.

When this treaty had been fully concluded with all the captains, except Geoffry Tête-noir, the count d'Armagnac entreated the count dauphin d'Auvergne, who was a great baron and able negotiator, to join him in this treaty, and from his affection to him, to undertake a journey to Paris, to the king and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who at that time governed the kingdom, to explain what he had done in regard to these free companions, and to have their consent; for without their orders the sum of money to pay them could not be raised in the country.

The count dauphin complied with this request, and rode to Paris; but the king was gone to Rouen, whither the count followed him. He there explained

plained to the king and his council the state of the country, and the treaty the count d'Armagnac had made with the companions. He did not soon accomplish the object of his coming ; for the lords of the council, knowing well what sort of people these free companions were, had no faith in their professions, and dreaded they would not abide by any treaty. They said to him,—‘ Count dauphin, we know that you and the count d'Armagnac are anxious to promote every thing for the honour and advantage of the kingdom ; for both of you have rich and extensive inheritances within it ; but we very much suspect that these Gascons and Béarnois, when they shall have received the sums agreed for, and the country shall be weakened, will, in the course of three or four months, return, regain possession of their castles, and commit greater waste than they have hitherto done.’

The count dauphin replied to the council,—‘ My lords, it is our intention, that when this sum be raised, it shall be deposited at Clermont or Rioms, and there remain until we have certificates of these companies having quitted the country.’

‘ That is well said,’ answered the dukes of Berry and Burgundy: ‘ we are willing the money be raised and put in a place of safety ; for at all events, should they refuse to conform to the treaty, it will serve to collect forces to make war upon them, and drive them out of their forts. This sum shall be under the direction of you, the count d'Armagnac, and the bishops of Clermont and Puy: you will take care that it be honourably disposed of, and for
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the advantage of the realm.' Having declared he would do so, he took leave of the king, his uncles and council, and departing from Rouen, continued his road until he came to Clermont, where he found the count d'Armagnac, his brother and numbers of lords waiting his arrival. He related to them that the king and his council had their doubts of the captains of the free companies, and the manner this money was to be raised, and deposited in a place of security until the intentions of these captains, who by force kept possession of forts and castles in the realm, should be clearly known.

They replied, 'that such were their wishes; and, since it is agreeable to the king, we will finish the business; but we must first conclude a peace or truce with the leaders, that the country may be assured the tax we are about to raise will be properly applied for their security.' Commissaries were sent by the count d'Armagnac to parley with Perrot le Béarnois, and Amerigot Marcel, who were the principal chiefs of the forts on this side the Dordogne, in conjunction with the bourg de Copane, Bernard des Isles, Olim Barbe, Abton Seghin, the lord de l'Exemplaire, and many more. These captains could never agree as to terms, for what one party acceded to in one week, the next it was refused: the reason was, that being from different countries, they had various opinions. Those from Armagnac, who were a sort of retainers to the count, readily assented to what he offered; but the greater part, and most determined pillagers, were from Béarn and Foix.

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I do not mean to say, that the count de Foix ever wished any thing but what was honourable and advantageous to France ; but when he first heard of these negotiations with the captains of strong places in Auvergne, Quercy and Rouergue, he was desirous to know upon what terms they were made, and the cause why the count d'Armagnac was so busy in the matter, and would be informed, when these places should be evacuated by the companions, what road they intended to take, and where they meant to fix themselves. He was answered ; ' My lord, it is the intention of the count d'Armagnac to engage these men at arms, when they shall have surrendered the forts, to lead them into Lombardy, where his brother-in-law (who, you know, married his sister, the widow of your son Gaston) has great difficulty in defending his inheritance, for there seems every probability of a war in Lombardy.'

The count de Foix made no answer to this, seeming not to have heard it, but turned about to others present, and conversed with them. He was not, however, the less thoughtful about what had been said, and determined secretly to prevent any of these treaties being concluded : at least, from the sequel it so appears.

The count d'Armagnac could never succeed, notwithstanding his repeated attempts, towards inducing any of the captains who were from Béarn, or Foix, to yield up their forts, or accept of any engagement, to serve the count or his brother Bernard. The count de Foix, who was prudence itself, considering that these two lords, his cousins, and those
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of Albreth, were very powerful, and acquiring friends on all sides, was unwilling to add to their strength by those who were his retainers : he therefore determined what line he would follow, as was told me, when at Orthès, by sir Espaign de Lyon, the bourg de Copane, captain of Carlat in Auvergne, and the bourg Anglois.

The count de Foix was at war with the Armagnacs, though at this moment there was a truce, which was usually renewed five or six times every year ; and, should the Armagnacs and Albreths obtain the assistance of these captains of free companies, who were so hardy and cunning in war, they would be enabled to bring a large force into the field, and do the count de Foix great mischief. This was the principal cause why the captains who were dependant on him would never accept terms from the count d'Armagnac.

They indeed gave him hopes of agreeing with him ; but although many appointments were made for a meeting, they kept none, but ran over the country, and pillaged it at their pleasure, just the same as before any treaty was talked of. The count was daily expecting to conclude one ; and the captain he was most anxious to gain over was Perrot le Béarnois, who held the strong castle of Chalucet, and was the principal commander in Auvergne and Limousin, for his compositions extended as far as la Rochelle. The others were, William de Sainte Foix, who held Bouteville ; Amerigot Marcel, who resided at Loyse, near St. Flour in Auvergne ; the bourg de Copane and the bourg Anglois, who held
Carlat.

Carlat. He said, he could at any time have Amerigot Marcel ; but he was desirous of gaining over Perrot le Béarnois, and Geoffry Tête-noir, who held Ventadour and was the chief of them all. They only laughed, and made their jokes of the count, disdaining to enter into any treaty with him or any one else. Geoffry knew his castle was impregnable, and provided with stores and a sufficient garrison for seven or eight years ; and it was not in the power of any lord to shut him up, so that he could not be prevented from making sallies whenever he chose.

Geoffry began all his passports and treaties of compositions with, ‘Geoffry Tête-noir, duke of Ventadour, count of Limoufin, sovereign lord and commander of all the captains in Auvergne, Rouergue and Limoufin.’ I will now leave these matters, and speak of what was passing in my own country, from the peace which was granted to the ghent men, on the conclusion of their war, by the duke and duchess of Burgundy, who signed and sealed it in the noble city of Tournay. To add strength to my history, I must speak of what was passing in Gueldres and Brabant ; for the king of France and duke of Burgundy were much affected by the events that happened in those countries, and took great part in the war that ensued.

CHAP. IX.

A DIGRESSION ON THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF BRABANT AND GUELDRES.—THE LIFE OF COUNT REGINALD OF GUELDRES AND HIS SUCCESSORS, UNTIL THE REIGN OF CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, BEING AN ALLY OF ENGLAND, SENDS HIS CHALLENGE TO FRANCE.—THE CAUSE OF THIS CHALLENGE.

THERE had been, for a long time, a hatred between the houses of Brabant and Gueldres: their countries border on each other; but the origin of this hatred of the Brabanters was on account of the town of Grave, which the dukes of Gueldres had taken possession of, and kept by force. This the Brabanters complained of, as it is situated on their side of the river Meuse; and, though many conferences were held on the subject, their hatred was not abated. Those of Gueldres complained, that the duke of Brabant had, in revenge, seized on three castles on their side of the Meuse, and at the entrance of their country, called Gambet, Buët and Mille. These quarrels between the two dukes were frequently embittered; but it was the opinion of many able knights and squires in arms, that if the lord Edward of Gueldres (who was unfortunately

nately slain by an arrow from an archer of the dukes of Luxembourg or Brabant, at the battle of Juliers*,) had survived and gained the victory, he was so valiant, he would have reconquered these three castles.

I will now relate, according to my promise, how these castles came into the possession of Brabant; that I may embellish my history; and I will begin with speaking of the dukes of Gueldres†. It was not long before I began to indite this work, that there lived a count of Gueldres, called Reginald. Gueldres is not so rich, nor so extensive a country as Brabant: notwithstanding this, count Reginald, coming to his property when a young man, had every inclination for expense, and cared not what his pleasures cost him. He attended all tilts and tournaments in the greatest magnificence, and expended, yearly, four times more than his usual revenue. He was generous and liberal, and made extravagant presents, so that he borrowed from the Lombards on all sides, and was soon so indebted he knew not whither to turn himself. His relations were greatly angered by such conduct, and blamed him exceedingly; but in particular the archbishop of Cologne, who was his uncle by his mother's side. One day, when he had him in his closet, he said,—‘Reginald, my fair nephew, you have managed your affairs so well, that you will soon find

* 1372.

† They were first created dukes of Gueldres by the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, 1339, at Frankfort.

yourself a poor man ; for your lands are mortgaged all round. In this world, poor lords are not valued. Do you imagine that those to whom you have made such great gifts will return them to you ? No, as God may help me : they will fly from you when they know you have nothing more to give, and will laugh at and mock you for your foolish expenses, and you will not find one friend to assist you. Do not depend on me ; for, though I am archbishop of Cologne, I will not curtail my establishment to repair your fortune, nor give you the patrimony of the church : no, I vow to God, my conscience forbids it, and neither the pope nor cardinals will consent to it. The count of Hainault, who has not kept the state you have, has married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany. He has three more whom he will also marry very nobly. Had you lived as was becoming you, and had you not mortgaged your lands, towns or castles, you were a proper person for such an alliance ; but, situated as you now are, you will never obtain one of them. You have nothing to dower a wife with, if you had one : not even one poor lordship.'

The earl of Gueldres was thunderstruck at this reprimand of his uncle, for he felt the truth of it. He requested, out of love to him, he would give him advice. ' Advice ! ' replied the archbishop : ' it is now, my fair nephew, too late : you wish to shut the stable-door when the steed is stolen. I see but one remedy for your distress. ' And what is that ? ' said the count. ' I will tell you, ' answered the

the archbishop. 'You are much indebted to Bertaldo of Mechlin, who is at present the richest merchant in the world; from the great commerce he carries on with all parts of it by sea and land. His galleys and vessels sail as far as Alexandria, Cairo and Damascus, with cargoes of the value of one hundred thousand florins: he also has a mortgage on the greater part of your lands. Bertaldo has one daughter now of an age to marry, and no other children. Several great barons of Germany and other countries have demanded her in marriage; but, I know not why, unsuccessfully: he may perhaps fear some as being too high, and others he may hold cheap: I therefore advise you to treat with Bertaldo, who may listen to you, and give you his daughter, that you may clear yourself of all your debts, and regain possession of your lands; for I should suppose, from your birth and in consideration of your having your possessions; between the Meuse and the Rhine, so well filled with populous towns, he will comply with your request.'

'By my faith, uncle,' replied the count, 'you advise me well, and I will follow what you have said.'

Count Reginald, shortly after, summoned those of his friends in whom he had the greatest confidence and affection, and declared to them his intentions of marrying the daughter of Bertaldo of Mechlin. He requested them to go thither and demand her, and he would make her countess of Gueldres, on such conditions as the archbishop of Cologne should be agreeable to. His friends com-

plied cheerfully, and made instant preparations for their journey to Mechlin, where they waited on Bertaldo, and told him the object of their coming. Bertaldo received these knights and clerks from the count de Gueldres very graciously, entertained them well, and said he would consider of their demand. Being so very rich, for he was worth at least five or six millions of florins, he was anxious for the advancement of his daughter, and, thinking he could no way ally her more nobly than to the count de Gueldres, had partly in his own mind assented to it. Before he declared it, he had many doubts, and said to himself,—‘If I give Mary to the count, he will wish to be my master, and I shall no longer have a will of my own. Beside, should she have children and die, which may happen, he, who will be enriched by my wealth and re-possessed of all his lands in the country of Gueldres, may marry again, and as nobly as he pleases, and have children by this second wife, who, from the high blood of their mother, may hold my daughter’s children in contempt, and perhaps disinherit them. I must have all these doubts cleared up before I give my consent. I will, however, mention all this to the friends of the count, and make them such an answer as this: That their coming has pleased me much, and that my daughter would be very happy to be so nobly married as to the count de Gueldres: but at this moment it was well known the affairs of the count were in the utmost disorder; that all his lands between the Meuse and Rhine were under mortgage, and that, to clear off his incumbrances,

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he has demanded my daughter in marriage. Before I consent to this union, I wish to know how he means to settle his estates, and that my daughter's children, should she have sons or daughters, may succeed to the inheritance of Gueldres, notwithstanding any other marriage take place in case of her death. On this point I am determined, and I must likewise have this succession assured by himself, his relations, and all who may have any claims thereto, as well as by the nobility and principal towns in the country.'

Thus did Bertaldo form the answer he was to give the commissioners from the count de Gueldres.

On the morrow, at a proper hour, Bertaldo signified to the count's friends he was prepared with his answer. They were well pleased on hearing this, and repaired to the hôtel of Bertaldo, where every thing displayed his riches. He met them in the hall, and, after some agreeable conversation, conducted them to an apartment fitted up in a manner becoming a king, where some of his friends were assembled.

When the door was closed, Bertaldo desired them to declare the cause of their visit to him, and he would give them his answer. Upon this, the dean of Cologne, cousin to the count de Gueldres, and a valiant clerk, explained so eloquently the object of their embassy, it was a pleasure to hear him. Of his speech I need not make further mention, for the subject of it has been told, and it related solely to the advantages of this alliance, and its conveniency to both parties.

Bertaldo,

Bertaldo, who, the preceding day, had formed his plan, answered as follows: ' My fair sirs, I and my daughter shall hold ourselves much honoured by so noble an alliance as the one you have proposed; and when such matters are brought forward, the less delay afterward the better. I say this, because an alliance by marriage, between so powerful and renowned a lord as count Reginald de Gueldres, with Mary, my daughter, pleases me right well. You require that his estate, which is now much entangled, by his debts to Lombards and others, should be cleared by this marriage, and every incumbrance done away. Thanks to God, I have the ability as well as inclination so to do; but I must first see the following settlements fairly engrossed and sealed, so that, hereafter, no contention ensue between any of the parties: first, my daughter's children shall inherit the country of Gueldres, comprehended within its present limits; and, if my lord Reginald should die before her, without having any heirs from her body, she shall peaceably retain the possession of that country during her life, and then it may revert to the next lawful heir. If it should happen that my daughter have an heir or heirs by my much honoured prince, count Reginald, and she die before him, the count de Gueldres shall not, on account of any secondary marriage, disinherit, or otherwise deprive the heir or heirs of my daughter of the succession of Gueldres. I consent, however, that if it shall be his good pleasure in such case to marry again, he may dower the lady with those acquired lands on the other side of the Meuse,

Meuse, bordering on the bishoprick of Liege and duchy of Brabant, but without charging any part of the country of Gueldres. When the relations and friends of the honourable prince, count Reginald, and all those who may, from their family-connections, have any claims on the duchy of Gueldres, and the chief towns, shall have signed and sealed settlements drawn up in the manner I have mentioned, I give my consent to the marriage. You may now, therefore, make any reply you have been charged with.'

The knights from Gueldres, after some short conversation together, said; 'Sir, we have well heard your terms; but, not being commissioned to say any thing in confirmation, or otherwise, on the subject, we must be silent. We will return to our lord, and relate punctually to him and his council what you offer, and very shortly you shall have from him his answer.'

'God grant it may be favourable,' replied Bertaldo; 'for I wish it.' On this they all left the apartment and went away. As you have heard every thing that passed on this subject, I shall not dilate on it more.

When the commissioners were returned home, matters seemed likely to be soon brought to a conclusion; for the count thought, in his present situation, he could not do better than marry the daughter of Bertaldo, who was powerfully rich. For greater security, all the settlements were drawn up, and engrossed in his house: when they were finished, the count signed and sealed them, as did
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all his relations whose names were mentioned therein, and the nobility and magistrates of the principal towns.

Bertaldo being now satisfied, the marriage was consummated, the debts of the count were paid, and all his lands freed from every incumbrance. Thus was the count de Gueldres made rich: he took a new hôtel, and formed a different establishment. If, formerly, he had been thought to keep a magnificent one, this was much superior; for he had now wherewithal to support it, as he never wanted for any money Bertaldo could give him. The count behaved right honourably to his lady, who was very handsome, good, prudent and devout. At the end of four years, the lady died, leaving a daughter of the name of Isabella. The count, being a young man when he became a widower, married again very nobly; for king Edward of England, father of that king Edward who besieged Tournay and conquered Calais, gave him his daughter Isabella*. By this lady he had three children, two sons and a daughter, sir Reginald, sir Edward and Joan, who was afterwards duchess of Gueldres.

When king Edward III., who was uncle to these

* There seems some mistake here, but I cannot make it out, nor find, in any of the genealogical accounts of the counts of Gueldres, notice of this marriage with the daughter of the merchant Bertaldo of Mechlin.

‘Reginald II., the 9th count of Gueldres, married, in 1343, Sophia, countess of Mecheln, and 1355, Eleanor of England.—*Anderjón's Royal Genealogies*.

children

children of Gueldres, came first into Germany to visit the emperor, and had been appointed by him vicar-general of the empire, as is contained in the first volume of this history, the county of Gueldres was made a duchy, and the marquifate of Juliers a county, to elevate those families in dignity. But to come nearer to our times, and connect this with our history, it happened that, after the decease of this count Reginald we have been speaking of, his son, also called Reginald, nephew to the king of England, died without heirs. Sir Edward of Gueldres succeeded to both: he was married to the eldest daughter of duke Albert of Hainault; but she was so young, that sir Edward never carnally knew her, and he died also without heirs; for, like a valiant knight, he was slain in battle, in a war against duke Wincesslaus of Brabant, before Juliers.

Sir Edward's sister-german was married to count William of Juliers, and her brother dying without issue, she claimed Gueldres as her inheritance, and brought forward her pretensions. Her elder sister, by the first marriage, made a similar claim, and said, since no male heirs remained from the second marriage, the duchy became her right, according to the settlements that had been made and signed. As this dispute ran high between the two sisters, the elder was advised to unite herself, by marriage, with some person well allied, that would defend her rights.

She followed this advice, and desired the archbishop of Cologne, at that time with the lord John
de

de Blois, whose brother, count Lewis, was still alive, to open the matter to him, and, if he were agreeable, she would make him duke of Gueldres; for, by the death of her two brothers, without male issue, the duchy had become her inheritance, and none other had any legal claim to it. The lord John de Blois, who had been brought up in Holland and Zealand, having fair inheritances there, and speaking the language, willingly listened to the proposal; for he would never marry in France, thinking he should acquire a large tract of country in the parts he liked best. The knights of his council, in Holland, advised him to accept of the lady. He consented to this; but, before he made it public, he rode to Hainault, to consult his cousin, duke Albert, and hear what he would say to it.

Duke Albert, in truth, knew not what advice to give him, or, if he did, he kept it to himself, and delayed so long, before he could make up his mind, that lord John de Blois was tired of waiting, and, mounting his horse, rode to Gueldres, married the lady I have mentioned, and took possession of the duchy. He was not, however, acknowledged duke by the whole country, nor were her claims universally allowed; the majority of knights, squires and chief towns, inclined more to the lady of Juliers, who, having a handsome family of children, had gained their hearts.

The lord John, therefore, had with his wife a war, which cost him much. By the death of his brother, count Lewis, he became count of Blois,
lord

lord of Avesnes in Hainault; and the rich inheritances of Holland and Zealand fell likewise to him. Notwithstanding this, his council advised him to pursue the claim of his lady on Gueldreland. He did so, to the utmost of his power; but Germans are a covetous people, and they only continued the war as long as they were duly paid. The dispute cost lord John very large sums, and was never of any service to him. This gallant count, lord John de Blois, died in the castle of the good town of Schoonhoven, in the month of June, of the year of grace 1381, and was carried to the church of the Cordeliers at Valenciennes, and buried beside his grandfather, sir John of Hainault*.

The lord Guy de Blois succeeded his brothers in all their possessions in France, Picardy, Hainault, Holland and Zealand, as well as in the country of Blois. I know not how many years the lady of lord John survived him, but, on her decease, her sister, the countess of Juliers, remained peaceable possessor of the duchy of Gueldres. It was, however, settled, at the request of the nobility and inhabitants of the duchy, that lord William de Juliers, eldest son of the count of Juliers, should be duke of Gueldres; for it had reverted to him in direct succession from his uncles, and, on this account, duke Albert and his dukes had given him their

* The lords Lewis, John and Guy, were sons of the count Guy de Blois, brother to Charles de Blois, duke of Brittany, by a daughter of sir John of Hainault, who conducted queen Isabella of France to England, with her son Edward III.—*Annotation X.*—DENTS SAUVAGE.

daughter

daughter in marriage, who had been betrothed to duke Edward, as before mentioned.

Thus was this lady still duchess of Gueldres, and this last marriage was the more suitable, for they were both nearly of the same age. The duke resided constantly in his own country; but the more he increased in age the greater was his love for tilts, tournaments and such amusements, and he was more attached to the English than to the French, which he shewed as long as he lived. He had always rankling in his breast a similar hatred to what had subsisted between his ancestors, and the dukes of Brabant, and was ever seeking for occasion of quarrel with them for two reasons: one, because he was the ally of king Richard II.; the other, because Winceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg, had purchased from the count de Mours, a great baron in Germany, those three castles I have before mentioned, but will now mention again, to make the matter clearer, Gambet, Buet and Mille, that are situated beyond the Meuse, on the territory of Fauquemont. The dukes of Gueldres had in former times been lords of these castles, and the present duke was much vexed that he could not add them to his inheritance, but as long as duke Winceslaus lived he kept all this to himself.

CHAP. X.

FROISSART RETURNS TO THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF BRABANT AND GUELDRS, WHICH HE HAD LEFT UNFINISHED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER, AND CONTINUES THE HISTORY OF THE DUKES OF GUELDRS TO DUKE WILLIAM, WHO SENDS HIS CHALLENGE TO CHARLES VI. KING OF FRANCE.

DUKE Reginald of Gueldres, cousin-german to the prince of Wales, had mortgaged the three above-mentioned castles for a sum of florins to a great baron of Germany, called the count de Mours. He kept possession of them for a time; but, when no intention was shewn of paying back the money he had lent on their security, he grew melancholy and sent legal summons for payment to duke Reginald. But he made light of this, as he had not any money to acquit himself of the debt, which frequently happens to many great lords when they are called upon for payment. When the count de Mours perceived this, he made advances to the duke of Brabant, and offered him these castles for the money for which they were mortgaged. The duke eagerly accepted the proposal, for they were on the confines of the territory of Fauquemont, of which he was lord. The duke
was

was desirous to increase his inheritance, for he thought surely to survive his present duchess, the lady Johanna*.

He took possession of these castles, and placed in them, as governor, the lord de Kale. When, upon the death of duke Reginald, the lord Edward succeeded to the duchy of Gueldres, he sent ambassadors to the duke of Brabant, to request he might have his castles for the money he had paid for them. The duke, not having purchased them for this end, returned a positive refusal. The duke of Gueldres was highly indignant at this answer, and in consequence was hard on his sister-in-law, the widow of the lord Reginald and younger sister to the duchess of Brabant, by preventing her from receiving her dower. The lady went to Brabant, and laid her complaints of the vexations the duke of Gueldres was occasioning her, before the duke and duchess. On account of the long-subsisting hatred between the Brabanters and those of Gueldres, for the seizure of Grave, the first were well inclined to aid the lady by force of arms. A large body of men at arms were indeed once collected in Brabant, and advanced to Bois le Duc, to the amount of twelve hundred spears. The duke of

* Winceslaus was the second husband of Johanna, heiress of Brabant and Limbourg. She was married to him 1355. After the death of Winceslaus, the 8th December 1384, and his son, she constituted Anthony, second son of the duke of Burgundy, her heir 1404. Her first husband, William count of Holland, died 1345 without issue.—*Johanna died 1406.—Anderson's R. G.*

Gueldres had likewise assembled his forces, and it was generally thought a battle would have been the consequence; but duke Albert, the count de Mours, and the count of Juliers this time interfered, and they separated without coming to blows.

This same year, duke Wincefflaus was victorious over some free companies, who had overrun and despoiled his lands in Luxembourg: he banished many, and put to death their leader, called the little Mesclin, in the tower of the castle of Luxembourg. In this year also, the lord Charles of Bohemia, emperor of Germany, appointed the duke of Brabant chief of an institution called in Germany *Languefride*, which signifies an association for the repairs and security of the public roads, so that all persons may travel from one part to another without danger. The emperor gave him also great possessions in *Alface* on both sides of the Rhine, that he might guard the country against the *Linfars*, who are a most wicked people, robbing all without mercy. He gave him likewise the sovereignty of the large city of *Straßburgh*, and, to add to his dignity, created him a prince of the holy roman empire. He certainly could not give him too much, for this duke Wincefflaus was generous, amiable, courteous to all, and gallant in arms. Great things might have been expected from him, had he been granted longer life, but he died in the flower of his age; on account of which I, the author of this history, greatly grieve, and wish he had enjoyed a course of eighty years or more, for he would have done much good to mankind. The
schism

schism in the church afflicted him greatly, as he often expressed himself to me, who lived with him on the most intimate and friendly footing. And, notwithstanding that I have seen and personally known upwards of two hundred powerful princes in my various travels, I have never found any more courteous and amiable than this duke of Brabant, and my very good lord the count Guy de Blois, who commanded me to indite this chronicle. These were the two princes of my time, of the greatest liberality, humility and goodness, who lived magnificently on their revenues, without malice or any way oppressing their subjects by taxes, and issuing any hurtful edicts through their territories. But I will now return to the principal subject of this chapter.

When the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, who were brothers by marriage, and whose hearts were too much attached to the English; for they had long been the allies of the kings of England, and strongly united to each other, heard of the dignities conferred by the emperor on the duke of Brabant, they were much exasperated; not from any wish to do good or correct the wicked, but that such honours should be conferred on their enemy: more particularly that he should have the appointment of Languefride, and execute the office with severity, for it affected their lands. This institution had been first formed for the security of those merchants of Hainault, Brabant, France, Flanders and Liege, who travelled thence to Cologne, Treves, Lucca, Constance, and other cities and fairs in Germany. Merchants could not enter those countries,

tries, without risk, through the states of Juliers or Gueldres.

It happened there were some robberies committed on the highways by these Linfars, who had escaped into the territory of the duke of Juliers; and it was told me, that the duke had even lent them horses and the use of his castles. Heavy complaints were made of this to duke Winceflaus, who at that time was resident in Bruffels, and that the Languefride was held in contempt; that the persons who had violated it were retired into the duchy of Juliers, where they lived unmolested.

The duke of Brabant, at that time young and chivalrous, high in birth and rich in fortune, was greatly piqued at this conduct, and hurt by the complaints of those who had been robbed; he declared he would speedily provide a remedy, and, being nominated chief of the Languefride, would not that any blame should fall on him for negligence in the due support of it.

To be assured of the fact, and through the advice of his friends, he sent to the duke of Juliers some of the first men in his country, such as the lord d'Urquon, the lord Bourgueval, sir Scelar archdeacon of Hainault, Geoffry de la Tour grand routier of Brabant, and several more, to remonstrate with him in an amicable manner on the impropriety of his conduct, and that proper excuses must be made for the offence, as it affected too strongly the duke of Brabant as chief of the Languefride.

The duke of Juliers paid but little attention to their remonstrances, for he seemed rather to prefer

war to peace, which displeased so much the envoys from the duke of Brabant, that they took leave of him, and returned to relate all that had passed. The duke of Brabant, having heard them, asked their advice how to act. 'Sir,' they replied, 'you know it full well yourself: speak your will.' 'Well then,' said the duke, 'it is not my intention to let this matter sleep, nor shall it be said, through cowardice or weakness of heart, I have suffered any robberies to be committed within my jurisdiction with impunity, as I will make my cousin, the duke of Juliers, and his adherents very soon feel, and that the business is personal to me.' The duke was not idle, but instantly set clerks to work in writing letters to all from whom he expected any assistance: some he entreated, others he commanded, and gave sufficient notice to the duke of Juliers and his allies of his intentions.

Each of these lords provided themselves as ably as they could; but the duke of Juliers would have made an indifferent figure without his brother in law the duke of Gueldres, who greatly reinforced him with men at arms and friends. These two lords collected men secretly from Germany; and as the Germans are avaricious, and had not for some time had any opportunity of gain, they accepted their pay, and came in greater numbers as they were ignorant they were to be employed against the duke of Brabant.

The duke of Brabant left Brussels in grand array and went to Louvain, thence to Maastricht, where he found upwards of one thousand good spears waiting

are your enemies : put on your helmets quickly, in the name of God and St. George.' He was well pleased on hearing this ; and that day he had near his person four squires, well informed, and of courage to save such a prince, having been engaged in many deeds of arms and pitched battles : their names were John de Valcon, Baldwin de Beaufort, Gerard de Bles and Orlando de Cologne.

The men of Brussels surrounded the duke : some were mounted with their servants behind them, who carried flaggons of wine, and salmon, trout and eel pies, neatly packed in handsome towels attached to their saddles. These people, with their horses, filled up the place so much, that no proper orders could be given. At length, Gerard de Bles said to the duke,—‘ Sir, order all these horse away that surround us : they are greatly in our way, and prevent us from knowing what is become of the van and rear division, under your marshal sir Robert de Namur.’ ‘ I consent,’ replied the duke, and gave his orders. Upon this, Gerard and his companions, sword in hand, began to lay about them, on helmets and horses, so that the place was instantly cleared ; for no one would willingly have his horse wounded or killed.

To make an end of the business : the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres advanced full gallop on the van, under the command of the count de St. Paul and his son, which they broke and defeated, and many were slain and made prisoners. This division made the greatest resistance, and the count de St. Paul and his son were among the dead. Fortune
was

was unkind to the duke of Brabant and his allies ; for this battle was so severe, few men of honour escaped death or captivity.

The duke of Brabant, sir Robert de Namur, sir Lewis, his brother, sir William de Namur, son to the count de Namur, were made prisoners, and such numbers of others, that their enemies were fully occupied when they surrendered to them. There were many slain on the side of the duke of Juliers ; but you know it is a general observation, a defeated army always suffers the most.

The Brabanters, however, had one satisfaction in their great loss, in the death of duke Edward of Gueldres ; for it was the opinion of all, that had he survived, he would have overrun the country, and conquered the whole, as well as Brussels, without meeting any opposition ; for he was a most outrageously bold knight, and detested the Brabanters, on account of the three castles they held from him.

The duke of Juliers gained this victory on a Friday of August, the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1371.

The duchess of Brabant, in her distress, had recourse to king Charles V. of France, who was nephew to the duke. The king advised her to apply in person to the emperor of Germany, as being brother to the duke of Brabant, and because he had suffered in the support of the emperor's rights. The lady did so, and went to Constance, where she found the emperor, to whom she made her complaints. The emperor heard her with attention, and was bound by several reasons, to grant her relief and comfort ;

comfort; first, because the duke was his brother, and because he had appointed him his vicar of the empire, and chief of the Languefride. He consoled the duchess, and told her, that before the ensuing summer were passed, he would provide an ample remedy for what had happened.

The duchess returned to Brabant greatly comforted. The emperor, lord Charles of Bohemia, was not inactive; for, as soon as the winter was passed, he went to the noble city of Cologne, where he made such vast provision of stores, as if he were about to march to the conquest of a kingdom. He wrote to all counts and dukes who held lands under him, to meet him the third day of June, at Aix la Chapelle, each accompanied by fifty horse, under pain of forfeiture of his lands for disobedience. He particularly summoned duke Albert, earl of Hainault, to Aix with fifty horse, who obeyed.

When all the lords who had been summoned were arrived at Aix la Chapelle, the place was much crowded, and the emperor then declared he would instantly enter the duchy of Juliers to destroy it, on account of the great outrage that had been offered him, by the duke of Juliers taking up arms against his vicar and brother; for such had been the sentence adjudged in the courts of the empire.

The archbishop of Treves, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Mentz, the bishop of Liege, duke Albert of Bavaria, the duke of Austria, his brother, and many great barons of Germany, relations of the duke of Juliers, having consulted together, thought that to destroy the whole of the territories

territories of so valiant a knight was a punishment too severe. They therefore proposed that the duke of Juliers should be summoned, and brought to acknowledge his error. This being agreed to, all parties laboured to bring about a reconciliation.

Duke Albert and his brother went to Juliers, where they found the duke so much dismayed at this large armament of the emperor, that he knew not how to act, nor what council to follow, for he had heard it was intended against him, unless his friends exerted themselves to avert it. The duke of Juliers was much rejoiced and comforted, by the arrival of two such lords as duke Albert of Bavaria and the duke of Austria, his brother, beside being his relations; for he knew they would not allow him to suffer any disgrace, but would give him the best advice for his conduct. They counselled him as follows: to send some of his principal knights for his cousin, the duke of Brabant, whom he had detained a prisoner at large in the town and castle of Judeque*. When he was brought to them, these lords paid him every respect that was his due. They then all left Juliers together, and rode to Aix, where they dismounted at the hôtels which had been prepared for them.

Duke Albert, his brother, and the before-mentioned prelates, who had been mediators in this business, went to the emperor and his council, and told them, that the duke of Juliers was, of his own

* Judeque. Q. if not Gallick, Juliers.

free will, come to wait on him, and was willing to put himself, without reservation, in his power, as he acknowledged him for his sovereign and liege lord. These humble words greatly softened the anger of the emperor, and he replied, 'Let the duke of Juliers come hither.'

When the duke of Juliers was in the presence of the emperor, he cast himself on his knees, and said,—'Most redoubted and sovereign lord, I understand you are much displeased with me for having detained so long in prison your brother of Brabant. I am willing to refer the whole matter to your noble self, and will conform to whatever may be your judgment and that of your council.'

The emperor made no answer to this speech; but his son, the king of Bohemia, replied,—'Duke of Juliers, you have behaved very outrageously, in keeping so long our uncle of Brabant prisoner; and had it not been for your well-beloved cousins, the dukes of Bavaria and Austria, who have so warmly interceded for you, this matter would have turned out very disagreeably to you, and you would have well deserved that it should do so. Continue your harangue, and manage that we be satisfied with you, and that we have never again any cause to complain of your conduct; for another time it will cost you very dear.'

The duke of Juliers was still on his knees before the emperor, seated on his imperial throne, and thus spoke: 'My very redoubted and sovereign lord, I acknowledge that I have been guilty of contempt to your imperial dignity, by raising an army, and engaging

gaging with it my cousin, your brother, the vicar of the holy empire. If the fortune of war gave me the day, and your brother was taken prisoner, I now restore him to you free of all ransom; and, if you please, there shall never again be any ill will or revenge thought on between us.'

The prelates and princes, standing round, said,—
 'Most renowned lord, accept the excuses and offers which your cousin, the duke of Juliers, makes you, and let them satisfy you.' 'We are willing to do so,' said the emperor; and, as it was told me, in further confirmation, he took the duke of Juliers by the hand, as he rose, and kissed him on the mouth. The king of Bohemia and duke of Brabant did the same.

Thus was Winceflaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, delivered from prison, by the power of the emperor, without ransom, as were all that had been made prisoners by the duke of Juliers, and who had not paid their ransoms, by the treaties that were drawn up in consequence of this reconciliation.

When this matter had been concluded, the assembly broke up, and all returned to their homes. The emperor went to Prague, the duke of Brabant to Brussels. When the duke of Brabant was there arrived, he imposed a very heavy tax on the country, to make restitution to the knights and squires for some part of the losses they had suffered.

CHAP. XI.

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN BRABANT AND GUELDRES.—ON THE DEATH OF DUKE WINCESLAUS, THE YOUNG WILLIAM OF JULIERS, DUKE OF GUELDRES, ENDEAVOURS BY EVERY MEANS TO REGAIN THE THREE CASTLES.—HE ALLIES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, BECAUSE FRANCE SUPPORTS THE RIGHTS OF THE WIDOW-DUCHESS OF BRABANT.

I HAVE taken much pains to detail all the particulars of this matter in my history, to bring it to the point I aim at, which is to explain why king Charles of France led a powerful army into Germany. I might indeed have passed it more briefly over, if I had chosen; but the dates of all these circumstances ought to be inserted in this history. In truth, I have my own manner of relating things, which, though pleasing to me, is indifferent enough. When I learnt that the kings of France and England were about to interfere in this business, I exerted myself to examine more deeply into the subject than I had hitherto done, and shall continue it as follows.

On the return of duke Winceslaus to Brabant, freed from all dangers of prison, as you have heard,
he

he was desirous of visiting his states and castles, as well in the duchy of Luxembourg as elsewhere. He took therefore his road towards Alsace and the city of Straßburgh, through the territory of Fauquemont. He visited those three castles which had caused the hatred of the duke of Gueldres, and found them strong, handsome and well situated. If he liked them before, he was now still more pleased with them, and ordered the tenants around to assist in strengthening their fortifications. He employed masons, carpenters and ditchers to repair and ornament them; and, before his departure, he appointed a prudent and valiant knight, called sir John Grosset, as governor in chief, with orders to guard and defend them at his peril. The duke continued his journey through his states, stopping at various places, according to his pleasure, and then returned to Brabant, which was his fixed place of residence.

Sir John de Blois had at this period married the duchess-dowager of Gueldres, to whom that duchy had fallen by the death of lord Edward, slain, as you have heard, at the battle of Juliers: but the duchess of Juliers opposed her claim on Gueldres, and was supported by the majority of the nobility and principal towns; for she was more popular with them than her eldest sister because she had a fine son, of an age to defend them in war, and neither her sister nor her husband, sir John de Blois, had ever peaceable possession of the duchy. The war to support the claim of the duchess, in which he was forced to engage, cost him upwards of one hundred

hundred thousand francs ; and after all William de Juliers, son to the duke of Juliers, (who had early shewn in his youth that chivalry and love of arms had descended to him by blood on both sides) remained duke of Gueldres.

An union was concluded between him and the eldest daughter of duke Albert, who was married to the lord Edward of Gueldres, but the marriage, on account of her extreme youth, had never been consummated. By this union with lord William, she remained duchess of Gueldres.

Time and seasons pass and change ; and this young duke increased in honour, strength and understanding, with a great desire for deeds of arms, and a strong inclination to add to his states. His heart was more english than french, and he had declared in his younger years that he would always aid the kings of England in their wars ; for, being more nearly connected by blood with them than with the kings of France, he bore them greater affection.

When his council gave him to understand that the Brabanters did him much injury by the detention of the three castles which the duke and duchess held from him, he replied, ‘ Be it so : wait a while : every thing has its turn. It is not yet time for me to exert myself, for our cousin of Brabant has too many powerful friends ; but a time may come, when I will rouse myself in earnest,’

Things remained in this state, until God was pleased to call to him duke Winceslaus, who died duke of Brabant and Luxembourg, as has been already

ready related in this history. The duchefs and the states fuffered a great lofs by the death of this gallant duke.

The young duke of Gueldres, who was now of an age to maintain his pretensions by arms againft his enemies, began to take meafures for the regaining thefe three caftles, which had created fuch hatred between Brabant and his uncle, the lord Edward of Gueldres. He fent perfons properly authorifed to treat with the duchefs of Brabant for the furrender of the caftles on payment of the fum they had been mortgaged for : but the lady replied, that as they were now legally in her poffeffion, ſhe would keep them for herfelf and her heir, as her lawful inheritance ; and that if the duke were in earneft in his profeffions of friendship to Brabant, he would prove it, by yielding up the town of Grave, which he unjuftly detained.

The duke of Gueldres on hearing this anfwer, which was not very agreeable to him, was much piqued, but did not the lefs adhere to his plans. He now attempted to gain over to his intereft the governor of thofe caftles, ſir John Groffet, by purchafe or otherwife. The knight was prudent and ſteady : he told thofe who had been ſent ſecretly to treat with him, never again to mention the ſubject, for, were he to die for it, he would never aft diſhonourably, nor be guilty of treaſon to his lawful ſovereign.

When the duke found he had not any hopes of fucceeding with the governor, he (as I was informed) addreſſed

addressed himself to sir Reginald d'Esconvenort, and excited such a hatred between him and sir John Groffet, for a very trifling cause, that the knight was shortly after murdered in the plains, either by sir Reginald, or by his people, or through an ambuscade, to the great vexation of the dukes of Brabant and that country. The three castles were put under another governor by order of the dukes and her council.

Affairs remained some years in this state; but their mutual hatred was privately kept up, as well for these castles as for the town of Grave. Those of Gueldres that bordered on Brabant did as much mischief as they could to their neighbours, more particularly the inhabitants of Grave, which is but four leagues distant from Bois le Duc, and a fine open country to ride over: they therefore harassed greatly the Brabanters near that part.

During the time these things were passing, the duke of Gueldres crossed the sea to England, to visit his cousin king Richard, and his other relatives the dukes of Lancaster, York and Gloucester, who were then at home, and the great barons of England. They made him good cheer, for they were desirous to see and make acquaintance with him, having before heard how much the duke was attached to England. In this journey, he entered into alliance with the king of England; and, although he had not hitherto received any thing from the king to induce him to become his liege man, he now accepted a pension of one thousand marks
on

on the king of England's treasury, which, according to the value of the coin was equal to four thousand francs ready money*.

He was advised to renew his claims on Brabant, and was promised to be effectually assisted by England, that no loss should accrue to him. In return for which, he swore to be for ever loyal in his services to England: all this he too readily entered into. When this treaty had been concluded, he took leave of the king and his barons, and returned to Gueldres, when he told the duke of Juliers what he had done, and how he had strengthened himself by his alliance with England.

The duke of Juliers, who, from age, had more experience than his son, was not much rejoiced on hearing it, and said,—‘William, what you have done may be the cause that both you and I shall dearly pay for your visit to England. Are you ignorant of the power of the duke of Burgundy, and that he has not his equal in this respect? He is the next heir to the duchy of Brabant, and how can you think of succeeding in any opposition to him, or of resisting so potent a prince?’ ‘How!’ replied the duke of Gueldres, ‘the more rich and powerful he is, the better to make war on. I had rather have for my enemy a rich man, who has large possessions, than a little baron from whom nothing can be gained: for one blow I receive, I wish to give

* See the *Fœdera*, an. 10. Ricardi II. where the treaty is at length. The pension was for life, of one thousand pounds sterling.

fix; besides, the emperor of Germany is so much connected with England, that I may look for assistance from him should there be occasion.'

'By my faith, fair son William, you are mad; and more of your schemes will fall to the ground than will be accomplished.'

I will explain why the duke of Juliers thus checked his son, and doubted of the success of his enterprises. The late king of France exerted himself much to gain friends in different parts; and, though he could not prevail on many to join him in his wars, yet, by gifts and other compliments, he kept them quiet, and by such means acquired several friends in the empire and elsewhere. When the emperor had forgiven the duke of Juliers' conduct to the duke of Brabant, and the last, by obtaining his liberty, was reconciled to the duke of Juliers, he, at the desire of the king of France, waited on him at Paris, where he was most kindly received. The king gave to him and his knights very rich presents of jewels, to the great satisfaction of the duke. In this visit the duke was presented with Vierfon* and its lordships, which he held as a fief from the king, to whom he swore he would never bear arms against France. Vierfon was originally dependant on the counts de Blois, is situated between Blois and Berry, and may be worth about five hundred francs a year.

During the reign of Charles V. he truly kept his

* Vierfon,—a city of Berry, on the Cher, diocese of Bourges, twenty-two leagues from Orleans.

oath,

oath, and, as long as this king lived, neither bore arms himself, nor entered into any treaty with the enemies of France. When Charles VI. began his reign, he was so much embroiled with the wars with Flanders and England, that he could not attend to every thing. The duke of Juliers, not being summoned, did not renew his homage for Vierfon; and the duke of Berry, noticing this, seized the lands, which he said were dependant on him, and thus deprived the counts of Blois of their rights. This, however, caused no quarrel between the families, for I saw them frequently together, and, indeed, from their connection it was right they should be good friends; for Lewis, son of the duke of Berry, was married to the lady Mary, daughter of the count de Blois.

The duke of Juliers had thoughts of claiming the lands of Vierfon, until he found his son had so hastily, and, as he thought, imprudently allied himself with England, which he imagined would never turn out to his advantage. He had therefore spoken to him in the manner I have related, when the duke of Gueldres returned from England; but he paid not any attention to it, and, as he was young and rash, replied to his father, that he would not do otherwise than he had said; and that he preferred war to peace, and war against the king of France to a contest with a poorer person.

CHAP. XII.

THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT SENDS AMBASSADORS TO FRANCE FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUELDRES.—THEY ARRIVE AT THE SAME TIME THE DUKE'S CHALLENGE IS BROUGHT, AND RECEIVE FAVOURABLE ANSWERS.

THE duchess of Brabant, who resided at Brussels, was well informed of every thing that was passing, and that the duke of Gueldres menaced the Brabanters with war. She was fearful that he would put his threats in execution, and said,—‘ Ah, may God graciously pardon my deceased lord; for, had he been alive, the duke of Gueldres would not have dared to use the expressions I hear he has done; but, because I am a woman, and old, he wants to attack and make war on me.’

The duchess assembled her council on the occasion; for she knew her opponent was of a hasty temper, and that action would soon follow his words. At the time this council was held, the duke of Gueldres had sent his defiance to the king of France, which had caused great slander in all countries where it had been told; for the duke was but a petty prince in comparison with others; and the tenor of this challenge was, as I heard, written in
such

such imperious and coarse language as astonished all who saw it.

This challenge was spoken of variously, according as the different persons to whom it was told were attached.

The council of the duchess, in answer to her when she demanded their advice, said,—‘ In the name of God, lady, what you ask may be speedily given. We advise, that you send ambassadors to the king of France and to the duke of Burgundy. You have a good opportunity; for the duke of Gueldres has sent his defiance to the king of France and all his allies. Should he carry his threats into execution, and, as it is reported, make war on that kingdom, in conjunction with the English and Germans, he cannot gain a more convenient entrance into it, than through your duchy. It is right, therefore, the king and the duke of Burgundy be prepared, and that all your castles on the frontiers be well supplied with men at arms; for there is no enemy so contemptible, but that he should be feared. We do not mean to say that against him alone, nor for what the Gueldrians may be able to do against us, we should seek for assistance or allies: oh, no; but on account of the connections he may have formed with foreign countries, especially with the English, in whose cause he is now arming, and the Germans, who are avaricious, and eager to make war on France for the wealth they hope to find there.’

The duchess replied, ‘ Your advice is good; and I will that attention be paid to it.’ The envoys to

France were chosen from among the privy counsellors of Brabant, and were the lord de Bourgueval master of the household, sir John Opem, a most amiable knight, sir Nicholas de la Monnoye and John de Grave, a clerk. When their credential letters were drawn out and sealed, they left Bruffels and took the road to Paris. At this time, however, the king and the duke of Burgundy were at Rouen, whither the ambassadors went.

On their arrival at Rouen, they waited first on the duke of Burgundy, who entertained them handsomely, as he knew them well, and shewed him their credential letters. The duke having perused them, at the proper hour led them to the king, who received them graciously, from his regard to their dukes.

The king, after reading their papers, said ; ‘What you request, demands consideration : keep near our fair uncle of Burgundy, and your business shall be attended to, and concluded as speedily as may be.’ This answer was satisfactory to them, and, having taken leave of the king and the duke of Burgundy, they returned to their lodgings.

The king of France, his uncles and the lords of his council, had, at this moment, full employment, and were daily in council respecting different matters which required it. The challenge of the duke of Gueldres was not very agreeable ; and they knew not the intentions of the duke of Brittany, from his strange conduct in regard to the constable of France. They had likewise heard he was busy in providing all his towns and castles with stores and
men

men at arms; and that his correspondence was now more frequent than ever with the king of England and his two uncles: for the duke of Lancaster was still in Galicia. The council of France had, therefore, enough to do, to weigh well these matters; and were so much occupied on them, that the Brabanters waited some time for their answer. •

At length, the duke of Burgundy gave it them as follows: ‘ You will return to our fair aunt, and salute her many times in my name. Give her these letters from the king and from me; and tell her, that we consider her affairs as our own, and desire her not to be alarmed at any thing, for she shall have speedy aid; and tell her that the country of Brabant shall not, in any way, be hurt or damaged.’ This answer was very agreeable to the ambassadors, who instantly returned to Paris, and thence to Brussels, and gave the duchess a detailed account of what had passed, and of the answer they had received, so that she was perfectly contented.

CHAP. XIII.

CONCERNING THE RUMOURS OF THE SIGNS OF
 SANCTITY WHICH WERE MANIFESTED BY THE CAR-
 DINAL DE LUXEMBOURG AFTER HIS DEATH.—
 THE EXTRAORDINARY END OF THE KING OF
 NAVARRE.

ABOUT this period, there were many rumours, that the body of Saint Peter de Luxembourg, who had been a cardinal, shewed miraculous powers in the city of Avignon. This holy cardinal was the son of the lord Guy de Saint Paul, slain at the battle of Juliers. I must say, that the cardinal led a most holy and devout life, doing works agreeable to God; for he was courteous, modest, chaste and a great almsgiver. He kept from his church-preferments merely sufficient for his maintenance, and gave all the rest to the poor. He was the greater part of the day and night in prayer, and shunned all worldly vanities. His life was so devout that it pleased God to call him in his youth; and, instantly after his death, his body, which he had ordered to be buried in the common sepulchre with the poor, performed miracles, for his whole life was full of humility, but it was interred in the chapel of St. Michael.

When

When the pope and cardinals perceived that miracles increased from this holy body, they sent an account of them to the king of France and to the elder brother of the saint, count Waleran de St. Paul, inviting him to come to Avignon. The count could not refuse, and, when he went thither, presented those fine silver lamps which are now before his altar. It was wonderful the great faith that was in this saint, and the numbers who came thither when I was at Avignon; for by that city I returned from Foix, to witness this. His miracles and votaries daily multiplied, and it was said he would be canonized; but I never heard more about it.

Since I have related the death of this holy cardinal, I will mention that of a different person, for I have not yet spoken of the death of a king who has supplied ample materials for many parts of this history. His actions, however, were the reverse from those of the preceding personage, for by them the realm of France was nearly destroyed. You will readily guess I mean the king of Navarre. It is a truth well known, that nothing is more certain than death. I repeat it because the king of Navarre, when he died, did not think his end so near. Had he supposed it, he probably would have taken more care of himself. He resided in the city of Pampeluna, and took it into his head that he would raise two hundred thousand florins by a tax on his country. His council dared not contradict him, for he was a cruel man to all who did so.

The principal inhabitants of the great towns were summoned, and, fearful of disobeying, they came.
When

When all were assembled in the palace, the king himself, who was a subtle and eloquent man, explained to them the reasons why he wanted money ; and that two hundred thousand florins must be raised from the country, in such wise that the rich should pay ten francs each, the middling ranks five, and the poor one franc. This demand much astonished his audience ; for the preceding year there had been a battle in Navarre, which had caused a tax to be laid for one hundred thousand florins : he had, beside, in the same year, married his daughter, the lady Jane, to the duke of Brittany, and there were large arrears of the tax for her dower yet unpaid.

The king having demanded their answer, they requested some time to consult together : he allowed them fifteen days, when they were all to meet again in the same place, that is to say, those who had come from the cities and towns ; on which they departed. When news of this heavy tax was known, the whole country was in consternation. At the end of the fifteen days, they assembled again at Pampeluna, and the deputies from the principal towns amounted to about sixty persons. The king would hear their answer in person, and he ordered them to make it in a large orchard, which was distant from the palace and inclosed with high walls.

In giving their answer, they explained how impossible it was for the country to pay this new tax from the poverty of the kingdom, and from the arrears of former taxes being still unpaid. They were unanimous in this declaration, and begged of him,

him, for God's sake, to have pity on them, for the country could not in truth bear any additional tax.

When the king of Navarre found he had not any hopes of success, he was silent and discontented : on leaving them, he said, ' You have been badly advised : consult together again : ' and then went away, followed by his council. The deputies were shut up in this orchard, with orders for no one to be suffered to go out of it, and very little meat or drink to be given them. They remained thus in great fear of their lives, and none dared open their lips. It may be supposed he succeeded at last in his plan ; for he beheaded three of the most determined in their opposition, to frighten the others to his will.

At this moment an extraordinary event happened at Pampeluna, which seemed a judgment from God. I will relate it, as several persons from Pampeluna told it me at Foix, which is but three days journey off.

It was reported, that the king of Navarre was fond of women, and had at this time a very handsome lady for his mistress, with whom he occasionally amused himself, for he had been long a widower. Having passed a night with her, he returned to his own chamber, shivering with cold, and said to one of his valets, ' Prepare my bed, for I want to lie down and repose myself a little.' When ready, he undressed himself and went to bed ; but he was no sooner laid down than he began to shake, and could not get warm. He was of a great age, about sixty, and accustomed to have his bed well warmed

warmed with heated air to make him sweat; and this practice he had long continued without any visible harm. He ordered his servants to warm the bed as usual; but this time, either by the will of God or the devil, it turned out very unfortunate, for the flames some how set fire to the sheets, and it could not be extinguished before they were destroyed, and the king, who was wrapped up in them, horridly burnt as far as his navel. He did not instantly die, but lingered on, in great pain and misery, fifteen days; for neither surgeon nor physician could apply any remedies to prevent his death. Such was the end of the king of Navarre, which, however, freed his poor subjects from the tax he would have laid on them. His son Charles was a young, handsome and gallant knight: he was acknowledged king of Navarre by all his subjects, and, soon after the obsequies of his father, was crowned in the city of Pampeluna*.

CHAP.

* Charles king of Navarre died in 1387, aged 55 years. His death was worthy of his life. He was wrapped up in cloths that had been dipped in spirit of wine and sulphur to re-animate the chill in his limbs, caused by his debaucheries, and to cure his leprosy. By some accident, they caught fire, as they were sewing them about him, and burnt the flesh off his bones. It is thus that almost all the french historians relate the death of Charles; but in the letter of the bishop of Dax, his principal minister, to queen Blanche, the sister of this prince, and widow of Philip de Valois, there is not one word said of this horrid accident, but only of the great pains he suffered in his last illness, and the resignation with which he bore them. Voltaire pretends that Charles was not worse than many other princes. Fereras had

CHAP. XIV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY BESIEGES VENTADOUR*.

YOU have before read of the treaties the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne attempted to make with the captains of the free companies who held castles and forts in Auvergne, the Gevaudan, and Limousin, and were at war with their neighbours. Many of them were inclined to accept the terms offered, for they thought they had sufficiently plundered France, and wished to do the same elsewhere. The count d'Armagnac promised

had said before him, that the French surnamed him Charles the Bad, on account of the troubles he had fomented in the kingdom; but that, if his actions were examined, he would be found not sufficiently wicked to deserve such a surname. It is, however, precisely his actions that have caused it. He was, says father Daniel, treacherous, revengeful, cruel, and the sole cause of the ruin of France. Father Daniel speaks exactly like Mariana, who has painted with energy his cruelties, his infamous debaucheries and his treasons. Our best historians have done the same. But it is one of the follies of our age to attempt the re-establishment of the most worthless characters, and to cry down those reputations that have been the most exalted.

Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique.

For more of Charles de Navarre, see les Memoires de l'Académie.

* Ventadour,—a castle in the diocese of Limoges.

to

to lead them into Lombardy; but the count de Foix, whom it was not easy to deceive, imagined that was not his intention, and made secret inquiries as to the progress of the business, and whither the men at arms were to march on quitting their strong holds. The common report was, that they still continued their courses, for the men of the country so related it to him. Upon hearing this, he shook his head, and said,—‘Such men at arms will not be trifled with. The count d’Armagnac and his brother Bernard are young, and I know they neither love me nor my country: these men at arms, therefore, may perchance fall on me, unless I shall take proper order to guard against them. The proverb says, ‘Long provision beforehand maketh sure possession.’

The count de Foix was not, in truth, wrong in his conjectures, as appearances at one time shewed, which I shall relate, if I carry my history to that length.

You have heard how that Breton, Geoffry Tête-noir, had long held the castle of Ventadour, on the borders of Auvergne and the Bourbonnois, and had refused to surrender for any money that had been offered him. He considered this castle as his own inheritance, and had forced all the surrounding country to enter into composition with him to avoid being plundered. By this means every one could labour the ground at their pleasure, and he was enabled to keep the state of a great baron. He was a cruel man, and very ferocious in his anger, minding no more killing a man than a beast. ‘You must

must know, that when the tax for the redemption of these castles was first raised, those in Auvergne, imagining that Ventadour would be surrendered to the duke of Berry, and the country delivered from the oppressions of the garrison, very cheerfully paid their quota. But when they saw that of those garrisons who continued their inroads, that of Ventadour was the most daring, they were very disconsolate, and considered the tax that had been raised as thrown away. They declared, that until the garrison of Ventadour was prevented from overrunning the country, they would never pay one farthing of any future tax.

This was carried to the duke of Berry, who was lieutenant of Limousin, Gévaudan and Auvergne, and he declared to his council, that those who had made such declaration were in the right, and that the promises that had been held out were badly kept, by their not having so closely besieged the place, to prevent the garrison falling forth.

The duke then ordered that four hundred spears should be collected, and paid by the country, and placed under the command of sir William de Lignac and sir John Bonne-lance, a courteous and valiant knight from the Bourbonnois, for them to invest Ventadour completely on all sides with block-houses.

These knights and men at arms laid their siege as closely as they could to the castle, and erected four block-houses: they also had large trenches cut by the peasants, and every obstruction thrown
across

across the roads they used to take, so that the garrison was completely shut in. Geoffry, however, was indifferent to this ; for he knew he had provision and stores to last for seven years, and that his castle was so strongly placed upon a rock that it could not be taken by storm ; and, notwithstanding these block-houses, and this supposed complete blockade, he, at times, with some of his companions, made sallies through a postern that opened between two hidden rocks, and overran the country in search of wealthy prisoners. They never brought any thing beside ~~with~~ them to the castle, on account of the difficulty of the passes. This opening could not be closed, and, to the surprise of the country, they were found abroad seven leagues distant : if they were by accident pursued, and had once regained their mountains, though the chase lasted for three leagues, they considered themselves as secure as if in their fort. This manner of harassing the country was long continued ; and the siege of the castle, in the manner I have related, lasted for more than a year : by it the country was saved the large sums they used to pay as composition-money. We will, for the present, leave Ventadour, and, by way of variety, speak of other matters.

CHAP. XV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS FOUR HUNDRED SPEARS TO THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT.—THEY SURPRISE AND BURN THE TOWN OF SEAULLE IN GUELDRS.

THE duke of Burgundy was not forgetful of his promise to his aunt, the duchess of Brabant. He assembled a body of four hundred good men at arms, from Burgundy and other parts, and appointed two knights for their commanders: the one was sir William de la Trimouille, a Burgundian; the other, sir Gervais de Merande, a German: and said to them,—‘ You will conduct these men at arms to that part of the frontiers of Brabant and Gueldres our fair aunt and her council have fixed on, and make a severe war on her enemy, for such are our commands.’ The knights replied, they were ready and willing to obey his orders.

When all their stores and men were assembled, they set out for Brabant, and, having entered the duchy of Luxembourg, sent to inform the duchess of their coming. The marshal of Brabant went to meet and conduct them, and, by the directions of the council, quartered them in the three castles the duke of Gueldres claimed, of which they now
formed

formed the garrison, and, being on the enemy's land, went forth daily in hopes to meet them.

The duke of Gueldres, perceiving hostilities were begun, reinforced all his towns and castles, and made every preparation to withstand his opponents. Sir William de la Trimouille, desirous to gain renown, and to do some act that should make it known he was in the country, cast his eyes on a town of Gueldres, about four leagues from the castle wherein he was, in hopes to gain it: it was called Seaulle. Having secretly opened his mind to sir Gervais de Merande, and explained his intentions, he agreed to accompany him; for he was equally anxious for deeds of arms. Having collected men from the different garrisons, they marched off at midnight, at a brisk trot, under the care of able guides, who brought them to Seaulle near the point of day. They then halted, and formed another disposition, which, as it was told me, was as follows: sir Gervais, with only thirty lances, was to leave the main body, and, if possible, to gain and keep the gate, until sir William should arrive with the remainder; for if the whole had advanced, an alarm might have been given, but so few would possibly be taken for a party whom the duke of Gueldres had sent to reinforce the place, or some of his men who were riding from one town to another.

As they had planned, so was it executed: sir Gervais left the army with thirty german spears, and rode towards the town. He passed indeed many people on his road thither; for it was market-day,

ket-day, and, as he passed, saluted them in German, which made them all suppose they were their countrymen, attached to the duke of Gueldres, and going to the garrison. Sir Gervais rode on until he came to the gate, which he found wide open and slightly guarded: indeed it was so early, that few were out of bed. They there halted, and were scarcely masters of the gate, when sir William de la Trimouille, with the main body, came up full gallop, and entered the town, shouting their cry.

Thus was the town won without any defence being made: the garrison never imagined the French would have been so enterprising, and the greater part were still in bed. It was on the Martinmas eve this deed was done. Three days before, an english knight had entered the town with ten spears and thirty archers, whom the king of England had sent thither. The knight's name was sir William Fikaoul*; and, at the moment of the first noise and bustle, he was getting out of his bed. Hearing the town was taken, he asked by whom. He was told by Bretons. 'Ha!' said he, 'Bretons are wicked fellows: they will pillage and burn the town, and then leave it: whose cry have they?' 'In the name of God,' replied a knight, 'they cry 'Trimouille!'

Sir William Fikaoul, upon this, armed himself, and made his men do the same, and barricade his house, to see if any would come to his rescue, but

* Fikaoul. Verard has Filzraoul, and my MS. Fitz-Paul. Lord Berners has the same as in the text.

in vain; for every one was so frightened, they were flying in all directions, some for the church, others to escape by an opposite gate to that the enemy had entered, abandoning all they possessed.

The French set fire to the town to alarm others at a distance, but there were many houses of stone and brick which could not be affected by it: however, the greater part was burnt down and pillaged, for nothing worth taking was left; and they carried away some of the richest inhabitants prisoners.

The english knight was taken doing his duty. When he saw all was lost, he ordered his house to be cleared of the barricades; for he was fearful of fire, as his hall was full of smoke, and, placing himself and men in front, fought very valiantly, but at length was made prisoner by sir William de la Trimouille: his men were likewise taken, for few were slain. When the French had done all they listed at Seaulle, in Gueldres, and their servants had packed up the plunder, they departed, for it would have been folly to have remained longer, and marched to their different garrisons.

Such was the success of this first blow the duke of Gueldres received: he was much vexed when he heard of his loss, and hastened thither with a large body of men at arms, hoping to find the French still there. He strengthened and repaired the town, and placed therein a garrison, who were more diligent in guarding it than the preceding one had been. Thus it happens in war; sometimes one side loses, and sometimes another.

The

The duchess of Brabant was highly pleased with the success of sir William de la Trimouille and sir Gervais de Merande, and they acquired much renown for it throughout the country. It was the common talk in Brabant, that in the course of the ensuing summer, they would renew the attack, and keep possession of it, for they should then have a sufficient force.

The duke of Burgundy was well pleased to hear such satisfactory accounts of the good conduct of those he had sent to Brabant ; and, to encourage them to persevere, he frequently wrote to his knight sir William de la Trimouille. They guarded so well the castles on the frontier, that no loss happened ; and the enemy was more careful in regard to their towns than they had been before the capture of Seaulle.

I will now relate an exploit of Perrot le Béarnois in Auvergne, and detail the whole history of it at length.

CHAP. XVI.

GERONNET DE MAUDURANT, ONE OF THE CAPTAINS OF PERROT LE BEARNOIS, HAVING BEEN MADE PRISONER BY JOHN BONNE-LANCE, AT MONTFERRANT IN AUVERGNE, FINDS MEANS, AFTER HIS RANSOM WAS PAID, TO PUT LE BEARNOIS IN POSSESSION OF MONTFERRANT.

THIS same year, about the middle of May, forty bold companions set out from Chalucet*, in the possession of Perrot le Béarnois, in Limousin, to seek adventures in Auvergne, under the command of a squire from Gascony called Geronnet de Maudurant, an able man at arms. On account of the dread this country and the borders of the Bourbonnois had of these people, the duke of Bourbon had appointed, for its defence, one of his knights, a valiant man at arms, called sir John Bonne-lance, who was courteous, amorous and eager to display his courage. When he heard these companions were abroad, he asked how many they might be : and when they said, ‘ About forty,’ he replied, ‘ As for forty lances, we do not fear that number : I will take as many to meet them.’

He then departed from the place where he had

* Chalucet,—election of Limoges, near Pierre-buffiere.

heard of this excursion, but his greater force was before Ventadour, and collected about forty or fifty of his men at arms that were dispersed on the borders of Limoufin, Auvergne and the Bourbonnois, for he was very desirous to perform some deed of arms. He had with him sir Lewis d'Ambiere, sir Lewis d'Abton and the lord de St. Obise. They took the field without following any particular road, for they were well acquainted with the country, and came to a pass through which they imagined the enemy must cross, and no where else, on account of the mountains, and a river which is wide and deep from the melting of the snow.

They had not been there half an hour when the enemy appeared, no way suspecting this meeting. Bonne-lance and his party, with their spears in their rests, charged them, shouting their cry as they were descending the mountain on foot. When they found they must fight, they put a good countenance on it, and prepared for their defence: Gerounet, who was a stout squire, set them the example. Many were, at the first onset, beat down on both sides; but, to say the truth, the French were by far better men at arms than these adventurers, which they shewed, for not one turned his back but the servants, who by flight saved themselves while their masters were fighting. Two and twenty were made prisoners, and sixteen left dead on the field: their leader surrendered himself prisoner to Bonne-lance.

The victorious party set out on their return, carrying their prisoners with them. On the road,
Bonne-

Bonne-lance recollected that, about a month ago, when at Montferrant in Auvergne, he had been well received by the ladies and damsels, and that, as they were amusing themselves, they said to him, 'Fair brother Bonne-lance, you are often in the field, and must at times meet your enemies.' A lady, who was much in his good graces, added,— 'I am sure you have frequent engagements with them, and I say so because I should like to see an Englishman. I have often heard, from a squire of this country with whom you are well acquainted, of the name of Gourdines, that they are determined men at arms, and as expert as any in this country. Indeed, they prove it by their gallantry, and by taking from us towns and castles, and keeping possession of them.' 'By God, fair lady,' replied Bonne-lance, 'if I have the good fortune to make one of them my prisoner, you shall see him.' 'Many thanks,' answered the lady.

When Bonne-lance remembered this, he had taken the road to Clermont in Auvergne, as the engagement had been hard by; but he quitted it, and followed that to Montferrant, which lay about one league off on the left hand.

The inhabitants of Montferrant were in high spirits at the success of Bonne-lance over these adventurers, and gave him a hearty welcome.

When he and his people had dismounted at the hôtel, they disarmed and took their ease. The ladies and damsels assembled to entertain and feast Bonne-lance, whom they came twenty times to see. He gallantly received them, for he was a prudent knight,

knight, and addressing himself to the lady who was so anxious to see an Englishman, said,—‘ Lady, I am come to acquit myself of the promise I made you about a month ago, that if I should, by good fortune, take an Englishman prisoner, I would shew him to you. Through the grace of God, I have this day fallen in with a party of very valiant ones; but, although they gave us enough to do, the field is ours. They were not indeed real Englishmen, but Gascons who wage war under that name, and come from Béarn and upper Gascony. You may view them at your leisure; for, out of my love to you, I shall leave them in this town until they have paid me their ransom.’

The ladies laughed, turned the matter into merriment, and said, they were obliged to him. When they departed, he accompanied them, and remained in Montferrant for three days amusing himself with the ladies and damsels. Bonne-lance, during his stay, gave good entertainment to Maudurant and his companions; as he saw they were poor, but bold fellows in the field: it would have been better for the town had he killed or drowned them than to have left them there.

When he was going away, he said to Geronnet, ‘ You will remain here as hostage for your companions, who are to seek your ransom; and, when you shall be prepared to pay, I have ordered a person to receive it for me; and, the moment you have acquitted yourself to me, you may depart, for I have left instructions that you may meet with no impediment. Remember, Geronnet, that I have
treated

treated you handsomely ; and, if any of our men fall into your hands, do you treat them in like manner.' ' On my faith,' replied Geronnet, ' my fair lord and master, that I will cheerfully do, for we are bounden to it by your generous conduct.'

Bonne-lance returned to the siege of Ventadour, and twelve of his prisoners remained in Montferrant. The ten others, according to agreement, returned to Chaluçet, to seek, from Perrot le Béarnois, two-and-twenty hundred francs ; for this was the sum their ransoms had been fixed at. The twelve in Montferrant were lodged in a handsome house, and lived at much expense. They were not strictly watched ; and, during the fifteen days they staid, they went about the town to amuse themselves, and made such observations on the state of it as cost it afterwards one hundred thousand francs.

When the captain of Chaluçet heard of the ill success of Geronnet de Maudurant, and that he and his companions had been defeated by sir John Bonne-lance, he was very indifferent about it, and replied to those who had brought him the news,— ' You are come hither to seek for money to pay his and your ransoms : are you not?' ' Yes,' they replied, ' for gain is not always to be looked for.' ' I know nothing of gain or loss,' answered the captain ; ' but this I know, you will get nothing from me. I did not send you on this excursion : it was your own free election to seek an adventure. Send to, or tell your companions when you see them, that adventure must deliver them. Do you suppose

friend indeed : I shall risk them for Geronnet's freedom : he is able to regain for me, if he pleases, as much again, if not more.'

The companions took the money and set out again for Montferrant, which was fourteen long leagues distant ; but they had very good passports, which permitted them to pass and repass. Geronnet, on learning that they had returned with the money, was much pleased : he sent for those to whom sir John Bonne-lance had directed him to pay it, and said to them,—' Count it : you will find the purse contains two thousand two hundred francs, which is all we are to give you.' After this, he paid liberally, and to the satisfaction of all, the expenses they had been at. When this was done, Geronnet borrowed and hired horses and men to conduct them to Chaluçet, sir John Bonne-lance having received a certificate of the ransom being paid.

I am ignorant whether sir John Bonne-lance sent for this money or left it in Montferrant, trusting to the strength of the place ; for sir Peter de Giac, at that time chancellor of France, had there deposited his wealth, of which he lost the whole, or at least as much as could be discovered, according to what you will hear told.

When Geronnet de Maudurant returned to Chaluçet, his companions gladly received him, and made him good cheer. After three or four days, Perrot le Béarnois called him and said,—' Geronnet, you are obliged to the fair offers you sent me, for your freedom, and to them alone ; for you know,

said to those who had come from Chalucet,—
 ‘ Brother-soldiers return to our captain, and tell him from me, that ever since I have been under his command, I have loyally and faithfully served him, and, if he pleases, will continue to do so ; and let him know, that if I shall be forced to turn to the French to obtain my liberty, he will not gain by it. I shall, however, delay doing this as long as I can ; and it will be always against my own inclinations. Tell him also, that if he will pay our ransoms, I will, within one month after our deliverance, conduct him to such a place, that it will be his own fault, if he does not gain one hundred thousand francs from it.’

The three companions returned to Perrot, and punctually gave him the message that Geronnet had charged them with. On hearing it, he mused a while, and said, ‘ It may be so : I will speedily give him his liberty.’ He ordered a large coffer to be opened, that contained upwards of forty thousand francs, money acquired by pillage you must understand, and not from the rents of his estate in Béarn ; for the town wherein he was born, and always resided before he left Béarn, has but twelve houses, and belongs to the count de Foix. The name of it is Dadam, three leagues from Orthès.

Perrot le Béarnois had counted out before him two-and-twenty hundred francs, and one hundred for their expenses, which he put into a purse, and, calling to him the three companions who had returned from Montferrant, said,—‘ I give you three-and-twenty hundred francs : a friend in need is a friend

friend indeed : I shall risk them for Geronnet's freedom : he is able to regain for me, if he pleases, as much again, if not more.'

The companions took the money and set out again for Montferrant, which was fourteen long leagues distant ; but they had very good passports, which permitted them to pass and repass. Geronnet, on learning that they had returned with the money, was much pleased : he sent for those to whom sir John Bonne-lance had directed him to pay it, and said to them,—‘ Count it : you will find the purse contains two thousand two hundred francs, which is all we are to give you.’ After this, he paid liberally, and to the satisfaction of all, the expenses they had been at. When this was done, Geronnet borrowed and hired horses and men to conduct them to Chalucet, sir John Bonne-lance having received a certificate of the ransom being paid.

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When Geronnet de Maudurant returned to Chalucet, his companions gladly received him, and made him good cheer. After three or four days, Perrot le Béarnois called him and said,—‘ Geronnet, you are obliged to the fair offers you sent me, for your freedom, and to them alone ; for you know,

know, I was not any way bound to pay your ransom, when taken in excursions made without my orders : now, keep your word, and prove the truth of your offer ; otherwise we shall be on bad terms, and you will incur my serious anger ; for know that I have not learnt to lose, but to win.'

' Captain,' replied Geronnet, ' you have reason to say so ; and I now offer to put you in possession of Montferrant within fifteen days, if you be willing to undertake it. In this town there is great wealth and wherewithal to plunder ; for, besides its riches in silk and merchandise, many of the inhabitants have much money. Sir Peter de Giac, chancellor of France, who knows well where to seek for money, has deposited, as I have been informed, a very large sum in this town of Montferrant ; and I must say, it is the weakest and worst guarded town in the realm : this is the offer I sent you, and the promise I entered into.'

' In God's name,' answered Perrot, ' it is well said, and I accept it : I will secretly make preparations : you know all the outlets of the town : but will it require many men ?' ' Three or four hundred spears,' said Geronnet, ' will do the business ; for they do not seem people likely to make any great resistance.' ' Well, by God,' replied Perrot, ' I will undertake it, and make it known to the captains of the forts that are near us, and when we be all assembled, will march thither.'

In consequence, Perrot le Béarnois got himself in readiness, and sent information of his intentions to the captains of the forts in the neighbourhood,
and

and fixed their rendezvous at the castle of Donzac *, in the bishoprick of Clermont, that was not far distant from Montferrant : Olim Barbe, a Gascon, and famous pillager, was the captain of it. The companions from seven forts attached to the English met, on the appointed day, at Donzac, and were upwards of four hundred lances, well mounted, whence they had only six leagues to ride to Montferrant. The first captain who arrived was Perrot le Béarnois, to shew he was the chief of the expedition, and to consult with the other leaders before the whole came thither, and lay their plans according to the information which had been given by Geronnet de Maudurant, and as to the time he had fixed for their coming to the town.

Geronnet, with eleven companions, dressed themselves in coats of frise, like to traders, and each leading a horse well laden, according to the custom of the country, set out from Donzac before day, conducting their horses on the road, as carriers : they arrived about noon in the town of Montferrant. No one made any inquiries who they were, never suspecting them to be otherwise than traders or carriers, as their dresses shewed, and supposing that they were come to purchase draperies and linens at the fair ; for they had travelled, they said, from beyond Montpellier for this

* Donzac, a village in Armagnac, diocese and generality of Auch.

purpose ; and already much merchandise had arrived from the neighbouring towns.

Geronnet carried his company to the Crown Inn, where, having put their horses in a stable, they chose a handsome apartment for themselves, where they remained in quiet, not venturing abroad, in the town, lest their plan might be discovered, but thought only of enjoying themselves, as they intended others should pay their reckoning.

Towards evening, they took a great deal of care of their horses, and gave the host, hostess, and servants to understand, as they had come afar off, it was necessary they should be well attended to. They called so loudly for candles, they could not satisfy them ; and would not go to bed, but kept drinking and roaring in their chamber. The host and hostess, noticing the merry life they led, and not having the smallest suspicions of them, went to bed.

I will now return to Perrot le Béarnois and his companions. This same day, towards evening, they left Donzac, under the command of seven captains. Perrot le Béarnois was the chief, then the bourg de Copane, whose name was Arnaudon, the bourg Anglois, le bourg Carlat, Apton Seighin, Olim Barbe, and Bernadon des Isles : there was also with them a grand pillager from Béarn, called the lord de Lance-plaine. It was from him and the bourg de Copane I learnt all this business, and the manner of its being undertaken, after Candlemas, when the nights are long and cold. The
weather

weather this night was so severe, with wind and rain, that the captain of the guard would not leave his house, but sent his son, a boy about sixteen years old, to examine the state of the guard. On his arrival, between the outward and inward gate, he found four old men, almost frozen with cold, who said to him, ‘ Take from each of us a half-penny, and allow us to go and warm ourselves.’ The youth was eager for the money, which he took, and suffered the guard to go home.

Geronnet or some of his people were constantly on the watch at the gate of the Crown, for the relief of the guard. Observing the youth return, and the guard with him, they said,—‘ Things go well : it will be a good night for us : there are none in the town but those who are now in bed, and, as the guard is dismissed, we have nothing to fear.’

Perrot and his companions were making all the haste they could ; but they were obliged to pass under the walls of Clermont. When within one league of that place, they met Amerigot Marcel, governor of Alofe, near St. Flour, with about one hundred spears. When they were known to each other, there was much joy ; and they mutually asked whither they were going in such bad weather, and what were the objects of their being abroad. Amerigot Marcel said,—‘ I come from my castle of Alofe, and am going to Carlat.’ ‘ In God’s name,’ replied the two captains of Carlat, the bourg Anglois and the bourg de Copane, ‘ here we are, if you have any thing to say to us. Do you want any thing ?’ ‘ Yes,’ said he : ‘ you have
have

have some prisoners who belong to the dauphin d'Auvergne, and you know he is in treaty with us through the Count d'Armagnac. I wish, therefore, to have those prisoners in exchange for some others who are in my fort, as I have been earnestly requested to get them by the lady-dauphin, and she is so good a lady, one cannot refuse her any thing.'

The bourg de Copane replied,—'Amerigot, you are indeed bounden to oblige this lady, for you had from her, three years ago, five thousand francs of her money for the ransom of the castle of Mercier. Where is now the lord dauphin?' 'They tell me,' says Amerigot, 'that he is at Paris, negotiating the treaties you know we have engaged in with him and the count d'Armagnac.' 'Come with us,' said Perrot le Béarnois, 'and leave all these things: you will gain by it, for you shall have a share of our booty.' 'Whither are you going?' asked Amerigot. 'By my faith, brother-foldier, we are going straight to Montferant, as that town is to be delivered to me this night.' Amerigot replied,—'Perrot, what you are about is very wrong; for you know we have entered into a treaty with the count d'Armagnac and this country, which, on that account, thinks itself in a perfect state of security. You will act indeed very ill, if you execute what you have said, and by it break off all our treaties.' 'On my troth, companion, I will never keep any treaty,' said Perrot, 'as long as I am master of the field, for we must live. Come with us, for you have
nothing

nothing to do at Carlat, as the captains are here, and those they have left behind will never give you admittance into the fort.'

'With you,' replied Amerigot, 'I will not go, but, since things are thus, return to my own castle.' The parties then separated, and Perrot continued his road toward Clermont and Montferrant. When they were below Clermont, they suddenly halted, for a new thought had struck some of them from what the Gascons told who had been backwards and forwards to Chalucet from Montferrant. They said to the captains who were collected together,— 'This city of Clermont is large and rich, and as easy to be taken as Montferrant: since we have ladders with us, let us scale the walls: we shall gain more than at Montferrant.'—On hearing this, they had almost resolved to put it into execution; but their captains, having considered it, said,— 'Clermont is a strong town, populous, and well provided with arms: if once we alarm them, they will collect together and defend themselves. There is not a doubt of our having the worst of it; and if we be repulsed, and our horses taken or lost, we shall be disabled from advancing any farther. We are at a distance from our castles: the country will rise against us: we shall be pursued, and run the greatest hazard of loss of life or liberty. It will be more advisable to continue our road, and finish what had been first fixed on, than to attempt any new exploit that may cost us too dear.'

This advice was followed, and not one word more said on the subject. They passed Clermont

as quietly and quickly as they could, and, on the point of eleven o'clock, came before Montferrant. They suddenly halted, when they perceived the town about two bow-shots off, and Perrot said,—
 ' We are now at Montferrant : our people must be within it. Do you wait here, and I will go by these ditches to see if I can learn any thing of Geronnet, who has brought us hither ; and do not you stir until I return.' ' Go,' replied his companions : ' we will wait for you.'

On this, Perrot le Béarnois, with three others, went away ; but it was so very dark, they could not see the length of an acre, and it rained, snowed and blew most unmercifully. Geronnet was at this hour on the walls, impatiently listening to hear of the arrival of his friends. He looked down, and saw, as he thought, the shadows of men entering the ditches : on this, he began to whistle. He was heard by Perrot, who advanced more into the ditch, for there was no water in it on that side ; and Geronnet asked, ' Who is there ?' Perrot knew him from his gascon pronunciation, and said, ' I am Perrot le Béarnois : is it thou, Geronnet ?' ' Yes,' replied he : ' if you will make yourself ready, and advance your men, you shall enter the town at this place : we cannot fail of success, for the inhabitants are all in bed.' ' At this place !' said Perrot, ' God forbid : I will never enter that way ; and, if I do at all, it shall be through the gate.' ' Then you will not enter at all,' replied Geronnet, in a passion. ' On my troth, Perrot, it is not in my power : come hither with your rope,

rope-ladders, and none will attempt to oppose your entrance.' 'Listen to me, Geronnet,' said Perrot: 'thou hast promised to give me entrance into this town; and, according to thy engagement, I will enter it no other way than by the gate.' 'I cannot help it,' said Geronnet, 'for it is impossible to enter by the gate, as it is closed and guarded, although the men may be asleep.'

While they were thus disputing, some of Perrot's men came near the ditch to hear if any body were stirring. Near to where they were, was a small insulated house, adjoining the walls, in which lived a poor taylor, who, having been hard at work until that hour, was going to bed. As the wind carried the sounds of their voices, and as persons hear better in the night than in the daytime, he fancied he heard some loud talking on the bulwarks. He left his house, and, advancing on the walls, saw Perrot's men walking about; on which he cried out, 'Treason!' when one of Geronnet's companions, seizing him by the throat, said, 'If thou utterest another word, thou art a dead man.' On this, fearing to be murdered, he was silent, and Geronnet, turning towards them, said,—'Do not kill the fellow, for he comes so opportunely, it must be through the mercy of God that he is sent, since by his means we shall completely succeed in our enterprise.' Then, addressing himself to Perrot, he added,—'Do you return to your men; and, when you shall hear the inner gate open, do you attack the outward one with axes to gain admittance.' He then told him the

use he meant to make of the taylor. Perrot went to his men, and related to them all you have heard. When he was gone, Geronnet said to the taylor, 'If thou dost not promise to do all I shall order thee, thou art instantly a dead man.' 'And what do you want me to do?' I want thee to go with me to the gate of the town, and awaken the porters, and tell them the governor has sent thee thither to order them to open the gates, or to let thee open them, to some merchants from Montpellier, who are without, heavily laden with merchandise for the fair.' 'I do not think they will believe me,' said the man. 'Yes, they will, if thou tell them, as a token of being sent by the governor, that he could not come himself to relieve the guard, but sent his son in his stead. If thou dost not well perform all I have now told thee, or should we fail in our exploit, I will slay thee with this dagger.'

The poor man, seeing himself menaced with death, for the Gascons are ready enough at this business, promised to do every thing according to the orders given to the utmost of his power. They went to the gate, and, after knocking at it for some time, awakened the porters: they asked,— 'Who are ye that awaken us at such an hour?' 'I am such a one,' naming himself, 'who have this night carried home some work to the governor's house; and, as I was coming away, news was brought that some merchants from Montpellier were without the gate, quite jaded and wet with their journey and loads. He has therefore sent me
to

to tell you to open the gates, or to give me the keys to do so ; and, as a proof I am sent by him, I was to say he did not relieve the guard this evening, but sent his son.' 'That is true,' replied they: 'thou shalt have the keys: only wait a moment.'

One of them arose, and taking the keys, that were hanging on a peg, opened a small window, and gave them to him. The moment after, Geronnet snatched them from him, and went to the bars of the gate. The first key he put into the lock luckily opened it: and he then went to the outward gate, thinking to do the same there, but in vain.

Perrot and his companions were on the outside, waiting its opening; but, as Geronnet's endeavours were fruitless, he said to them, 'My fair sirs, give some assistance; for I cannot any way open this gate.' Then those who were provided with axes and wedges, began to use them like carpenters. As soon as they had made a hole, Geronnet gave them hatchets and saws to cut the bars. Several of the inhabitants, on hearing the noise, quitted their beds, wondering what it could be; for they never imagined the English were come to awaken them at such an hour.

The porters at the gate, who had so badly guarded it, hearing the clattering of armour and the neighing of horses, knew they had been deceived and surprised. They went to the windows over the gate, and bawled out, 'Treason! treason!' which alarmed the whole town: many rose
and

and fled to save themselves and fortune in the castle; but few were allowed to enter it; for, when the governor heard the English had surprised the town, for fear of consequences, he would not lower the draw-bridge. He received, indeed, some of his friends at the first moment, by means of a plank; but, when he heard the cries of the women and children, he withdrew the plank, and would never replace it, but made his preparations for defence, in case the castle should be attacked.

I have said how the first gate was opened: the second was cut down with axes, and the captains, with their companions, marched into the town without any opposition. They did not, at first, enter a house, for they knew not if any bodies of men were collecting to resist them, but went through the town to be assured of it. They only found a few, who were attempting to enter the castle, that made any resistance, but they were soon either slain or made prisoners. Why should I make a long story of it? The town of Montferrant was thus surprised, on a Thursday night, the thirteenth day of February, by Perrot le Béarnois and his accomplices. When they saw themselves masters of the place, they took up their lodgings at different hôtels, without doing violence to any one; for Perrot had ordered, under pain of death, that neither woman nor damsel should be violated, that no houses should be burnt, nor any prisoners made without his knowledge; and that no one, under the same penalty, should hurt church or churchman, nor take away any thing from thence. These were

were the orders Perrot le Béarnois always gave; and he had made them be strictly observed ever since he had entered France, to carry on a war against its towns and castles.

Such was not the conduct of Geoffry Tête-noir: it was indifferent to him whether churches were plundered or not, so that he gained by it. When news was brought to Clermont, which is but a short league distant, of the capture of Montferrant by the English, the inhabitants were greatly alarmed, and not without cause, for their enemies were too near. They knew not well how to act; but they made preparations for the defence of the town. This intelligence was also carried to Château-neuf, on the Allier, Thionne, Vic, Yffoire, Rioms, Aigue-perse, and the strong castle of Montpensier: all, or the greater part, of these places belonged to the duke of Berry. Those who heard it, or were any way affected by it, were exceedingly surprised: and the neighbouring parts of Auvergne, Bourbonnois, Forêts, and even as far as Berry, trembled. When the news came to Paris, the king and his uncles were, as was natural, very wroth.

The count-dauphin of Auvergne was at this time in Paris, on the affairs of his country, and greatly hurt when told of the surprise of Montferrant; for, as he was with the count d'Armagnac, lieutenant for the king over these countries, he was afraid blame would be imputed to him for being absent from his government. But his excuse was, that he was at Paris for the completion of the treaties
that

that had been entered into with the captains of the free companies, and that, on the faith of them, the country had thought itself in perfect security. The dauphin, however, set out from Paris, for Auvergne, the moment he heard of it, leaving his state behind, and, only attended by one page, took the road for Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, changing horses daily. In this haste, he came to St. Pierre le Moustier *, where he learnt other intelligence, which I will relate to you.

CHAP. XVII.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND HIS COMPANIONS DETERMINE NOT TO KEEP POSSESSION OF MONTFERRANT.—THEY MAKE A SALLY ON SOME TROOPS FROM CLERMONT, WHO HAD ADVANCED TO THE BARRIERS OF THE CAPTURED TOWN, AND INSTANTLY DEFEAT THEM.

ON the Friday morning these captains, being complete lords of Montferrant, and having had all the inhabitants tied together, so that they could not any way oppose them, searched their houses, and packed up whatever they thought would be

* St. Pierre le Moustier, a town in the Nivernois, seven leagues from Moulins.

profitable

profitable to them, in draperies, cloths, furs, dresses, and other articles. When at breakfast, they had a long consultation, whether to keep the town or not : some were for keeping and fortifying it ; but the majority were of a contrary opinion, and said it would be madness to do so, for they would be at too great a distance from their own castles, and be inclosed within it. Should they be besieged, they were not in force to hold out, and too far from any assistance.

They would be starved into a surrender ; for there were numbers of gentlemen in the towns and cities about ; and the duke of Berry, as soon as he should hear what they had done, would order thither the Marshal of France, the lord Lewis de Sancerre. The count d'Armagnac and the dauphin would advance to the siege with a great force, without waiting to be sent to ; for they had under them the following great barons : the lords de la Tour, d'Apton, d'Aptiel, de Renel, de la Palisse, and several more ; but, above all, sir John Bonnelance would come hither, with a large body of friends ; for it had been said the town was lost by his imprudence and neglect.

Such were the arguments urged against keeping the town, particularly by Perrot le Béarnois and Olim Barbe. Many other reasons were added ; for, should they be taken, they would lose all they had, be punished for what they had done, and their forts would be taken from them. They therefore resolved to march away that evening, and carry away their booty and prisoners, of whom they had
more

more than two hundred. To prevent any hindrance to this plan, they posted strong guards at all the gates, so that no one could leave the town.

I will now relate a skirmish that passed between them and some from Clermont. When news first came to Clermont that Montferrant was taken by the English, they were much alarmed at having such neighbours, and held many consultations on the subject. There was, on the road from Clermont to Montferrant, the handsomest, strongest, and best built church, belonging to the mendicant friars, in France. It had large inclosures, surrounded by high walls, within which were very productive vineyards; for, one year with another, these friars made from one hundred to six score hogheads of wine. In these consultations, some advised the destruction of this monastery; as they said it was so near the town, that it was not unlikely to be its ruin, if in the hands of these pillagers. The pulling it down had been in agitation formerly, and they were now eager to effect it. But others said, it would be a pity to destroy such handsome buildings; and that it would be better to march to Montferrant, and skirmish with the conquerors, at the barriers, and, if possible, invest the place, to prevent the enemy leaving it; for, within four days, the knights and squires of the Bourbonnois and Forêts would be collected and lay siege to it. While these conversations were going forward in the city of Clermont, about sixty men at arms, well mounted, were ready to march towards Montferrant, and skirmish at the barriers, and

and then return home again. No one checked their ardour; for there were among them some of the noblest in the town, who seemed eager to perform deeds of valour. Being all equipped, they set off for Montferrant, taking with them thirty cross-bows. Upwards of two hundred volunteers left Clermont and followed them on foot.

It was told to the companions in Montferrant, that a party from Clermont were at the barriers. This news pleased them much: upwards of one hundred of the most expert having armed themselves, and mounted their horses, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and fell upon those from Clermont, shouting, 'Saint-George!' When the party saw themselves thus vigorously attacked, they were panic-struck and instantly defeated, without making the smallest defence, but flying in all directions. The best mounted, on leaving Clermont, took the lead, and said on the road, they would be the first to attack these pillagers; but shortly they were the first to return to their town, and the Gascons at their heels. Had the last had as good horses, all or the greater part would have remained with them: they, however, chased them until they met the volunteers on foot, who, when they perceived the defeat of their townsmen, kept no longer any order, but ran away for the fastest, leaping from hedge to hedge, and from ditch to ditch, to save themselves. The cross-bows from Clermont kept in better array when the others fled, and drew themselves up in a vineyard with presented bows, making

making a shew of defence. They there remained until the English had returned to Montferrant, for they never thought of going after them. The Clermontois lost twenty of their men, six killed and fourteen made prisoners.

CHAP. XVIII.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND HIS COMPANIONS, HAVING PLUNDERED MONTFERRANT, RETREAT TO THEIR FORTS.—HIS ANSWER TO THE DAUPHIN OF AUVERGNE, WHO COMPLAINS OF HIS HAVING SURPRISED THIS TOWN DURING THE TIME TREATIES WERE IN AGITATION FOR HIS LEAVING THE COUNTRY.

WHEN this business was over, they were busily employed until near night in packing up their plunder. On the point of six o'clock, having completed it, they were on foot, except about sixty on horseback, and conducted down the streets more than four hundred horses laden with cloths, linen, furs, and whatever they had seized. They had found, in the houses of the rich, caskets full, but had left them empty. Having bound all the inhabitants, two and two, they had the gates opened after nightfall and departed, not having staid at Montferrant more than eighteen hours. They sent their

their baggage and prisoners before, with those on foot; and the captains followed close after on horseback.

It was dark night; and, as the country did not suspect their stay would have been so short, they were not pursued. About midnight they came to Donzac, which they had left two days before, and there unpacked and examined their plunder. I heard, when in that country, that they gained by this expedition upwards of one hundred thousand francs, besides prisoners; for sir Peter de Giac, chancellor of France, alone lost more than thirty thousand francs in gold.

The companions had wisely resolved to leave Montferrant as they did: had they staid two days longer, they could not have attempted it without great danger of their lives. The whole surrounding country were collecting, and advancing in great bodies to lay siege to them, under the command of the lords de la Tour, de Montague, d'Apthier, d'Aphon, sir Guiscard Dauphin, the marquis of Gaiulhat, sir Lewis d'Ambiere, the lord de la Palisse, sir Ploustrac de Chastelux, and the sénéchal de Montaigne. None remained at home, and the count-dauphin was very active in the matter. He would have been there within two days, had he not heard that the Gascons had retreated to their forts: at the same time, he received an account of all the mischief which they had committed.

When he was assured this intelligence was true, he travelled more slowly to Saint Pourçain, and thence to Moulins in the Bourbonnois, where he met
his

his daughter, the duchess of Bourbon, who had been very much alarmed, but was rejoiced on hearing the enemy had retreated, though those of Montferrant had suffered severely by their visit, as her country was now freed from such near and troublesome neighbours.

‘On my faith,’ said the count-dauphin, ‘though it were to cost me a very large sum of money, I wish these pillagers had remained in Montferrant, for it should have ended badly with them. We in Auvergne could never have had so fair an opportunity of punishing them, and gaining their forts. They prove their abilities in war by having so expeditiously finished the matter. They have now re-entered their forts, and their plunder is in safety.’ Thus did the count-dauphin of Auvergne and his daughter, the duchess of Bourbon, converse together.

Perrot le Béarnois, Olim Barbe, le bourg de Copane, le bourg Anglois, Aphon Seighin, and the other captains of the free companies, on their arrival at Donzac, made a division of their pillage and prisoners: some they ransomed, others were carried with them to their different forts, when they separated at Donzac for Carlat, Chalucet, and their other garrisons.

The country of Auvergne was now better guarded than ever. The count d’Armagnac and the count-dauphin sent, however, to tell Perrot le Béarnois, that he had treacherously and wickedly surprised and plundered Montferrant, during the time when treaties were negotiating between them, and that,
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as he had assented to such treaties, they expected he would make reparation for the mischief that had been done. Perrot replied to this message by saying, that ‘under their graces’ favour, neither he nor any of the seven captains, who had plundered Montferrant, had ever entered into any treaty with them: that they had not taken the town treacherously nor by scalado, but had fairly entered by the gate, which had been opened to them on their arrival: that if they had assented to a treaty, legally sworn and sealed, they would, on their part, religiously and loyally have adhered to it; but that was not the fact, nor had they intentions of ever entering into any treaty with them.’

Things remained in this state, nor could these lords gain any thing more. Sir Peter de Giac was much vexed at his loss, and the townsmen of Montferrant recovered themselves as well as they could from such an unfortunate adventure.

CHAP. XIX.

THE LORD LEWIS OF BLOIS MARRIES THE LADY MARY OF BERRY, AND THE LORD JOHN OF BERRY THE PRINCESS MARY OF FRANCE, WHO DIES SHORTLY AFTER.—THE DEATH OF THE LADY JANE OF ARMAGNAC, DUCHESS OF BERRY.

COUNT Guy de Blois, in company with his countess and a handsome attendance of knights, squires and ladies, set out, in the month of August
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of the year of our Lord 1386*, in grand array, from his castle of Blois, for Berry. They carried with them their young son, who, the preceding year, had been betrothed to the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry; and it was the intention of all parties, that on their arrival at Bourges the marriage should be consummated.

When the contracts had been signed, the marriage ceremony was performed in the cathedral church of St. Stephen, at Bourges, by a valiant prelate, the cardinal of Avignon. The chancellor of Berry and the bishop of Poitiers had betrothed them to each other the year before. There were many grand feasts and entertainments at this wedding of lord Lewis of Blois with the lady Mary of Berry, and the tilts and tournaments of the knights and squires lasted for eight days.

The count and countess of Blois, when all was over, took leave of the duke of Berry and returned to Blois, accompanied by their daughter-in-law.

This same year John of Berry, son of the duke of Berry, and styled count de Montpensier, was married to lady Mary of France, sister to king Charles.

The dukes of Berry, with her son and the lady Mary of France paid a visit to the count and coun-

* Denis Sauvage, in a marginal note, says, that Froissart, having omitted to notice these marriages at their proper time, prefers mentioning them here rather than omit them entirely.

ters of Blois during the Lent of the ensuing year. They and their attendants were grandly received in the castle of Blois, as the count understood these matters well. I was present at the time of this visit. When the duchess and her children had staid three days, they departed for Poitiers; but they went by water down the Loire as far as Amboise, and from thence travelled in cars and on horseback to Poitou. The duchess and her children resided for the most part in the fair castle of a handsome town called Chinon*.

In this year died the lady Mary of France, the young bride of the count de Montpensier. Soon after died also, the lady Jané d'Armagnac, duchess of Berry. Thus the duke and his son were left widowers: they, however, married again, but not immediately. I shall speak of these second marriages, more especially of that of the duke, at a proper time, as our history claims that mention be made of it.

* Chinon, an ancient town of France, election of Tours. It is remarkable for the death of Henry II. of England, and the residence of Charles VII. of France. Rabelais was born very near to it.

CHAP. XX.

WHILE THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE IS IN DELIBERATION WHETHER OR NOT TO MARCH AN ARMY AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUELDRÉS, THE DUKE OF BERRY SENDS THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, TO ENDEAVOUR TO WIN HIM OVER TO THE PARTY OF FRANCE, AFTER HAVING ALIENATED HIMSELF FROM IT BY THE ARREST OF THE CONSTABLE.

I HAVE before mentioned the challenge which had been sent by the duke of Gueldres to the king of France. It was much talked of every where, from the uncourteous, and indeed rude language it was said to contain. I was in truth shewn some rough drafts, which were said to be exact copies of this challenge; but as I never saw the original, nor any certified copy, I did not give much credit to what so nearly concerned a little prince, like the duke of Gueldres, and a king of France.

It was evident that this conduct had greatly angered the king of France, who seemed determined to have reparation, and expected excuses to be made for it by the duke of Gueldres. The king's council had resolved it should not remain quiet; for the great barons had declared, that if the king
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did not shew his resentment, whatever sums it might cost France, they would be alone to blame : for the king had proved, when in Flanders, his willingness to pursue his enemies. The king was young, indeed, but of good courage ; and if he suffered such insults with patience, foreign countries would hold the nobility of France very cheap, as they were the king's advisers, and had sworn to guard his honour.

The lord de Coucy took great pains in the council, that no blame might fall on him ; and shewed clearly he personally felt the insult. He was better acquainted with the character of the Germans than many others, from his disputes with the duke of Austria, and from different transactions in which he had been engaged with them.

The king's ministers saw that the greater part of the nobles of the realm were for war against Gueldres, and, in particular, the duke of Burgundy, on account of the warfare the duke was carrying on against his aunt, the duchess, and the country of Brabant. This duchy reverted to him after the decease of his aunt and her sister *, who were both old

* In the 12th annotation of Denis Sauvage, he makes the following observations :

' *Sister.*' ' I should suppose this sister to be Jane, widow of the late William count of Hainault, according to the 30th and 117th chapters of the first volume, if the 257th of the same volume, and the 207th of the second, did not incline me to believe, that this widow was the Jane of Brabant married again

old ladies. The duke of Burgundy would very gladly have seen the duke of Gueldres, who was chivalrous enough, checked by fair or foul means.

It was necessary, however, the kingdom should be unanimous in this disposition ; for it was a great distance the king of France would have to march into Germany to make conquests and put lords under his obedience ; and he must carry with him the whole force of the kingdom ; for, as the Germans were so avaricious, it was uncertain if they would not all unite in the support of the duke of Gueldres. In addition, the duke of Burgundy and the other nobles were aware of the consequences the conduct of the duke of Brittany might lead to ; for he shewed his preference of war to peace with France ; and the lords of the council knew he was laying provision of stores and artillery in all his strong towns and castles for their defence, in case of being besieged. Besides this, he was constantly sending over letters and messengers to England, to the king and his council, in the most affectionate terms, offering henceforth the strongest friendship,

to Wincelaus, last duke of Brabant, who acquired, by his union with her, that duchy. The countess of Flanders, who was sister to this duchess, died five years before her husband, count Lewis of Flanders, who deceased in the month of January, 1384 ; so that I suspect the reading should be, ' after the decease of his aunt, who was now very old ;' for I cannot say who this sister was.

so that the English might continue the war with the most flattering hopes of success.

The council were unwilling to decide on any bold measures, until this cloud, which hung over Brittany, was removed by some means or other, so that the kingdom might not have any fear from that quarter: for, should the king march into Germany, the country would be left defenceless, and they knew not well how to bring about an accommodation. Those who had been sent into Brittany, the bishop of Langres, sir John de Vienne, and sir John de Bueil, were returned, and had told the king and his uncles of their ill success. Upon this the duke of Berry resolved to send thither his cousin, the count d'Estampes, who was a valiant man and able negotiator. He therefore addressed him in such words as these,—‘ Fair cousin, I entreat you would go to Brittany: it is absolutely necessary you should do so, to negotiate with our cousin, the duke of Brittany; and should you find him hot and imperious in speech, do not you mind it, nor put yourself in any passion. Treat him gently, and with the greatest attention, and endeavour to make him listen to reason: tell him that the king, myself, and brother of Burgundy, wish him every thing good, and bear him the strongest affection; and that, if he would come and live with us, he would find us always ready to serve him. In respect to the castles which he holds from the constable, say, jokingly, that, to be sure, he had seized them unjustly, and that, if he would be pleased to render them back, it would redound greatly

greatly to his honour, and the king would give him as rich and as strong ones in any part of the kingdom he may choofe. Exert yourself, dear coufin, to bring us back good news; and do not quit him, however you may be delayed, without bringing matters to some fort of a conclufion, taking care to remember all the duke's answers, and to examine well the state of the duchy.'

The count d'Estampes assured the duke he would cheerfully undertake it; and he made no long delay, from the time of this conversation, in his preparations for the journey. When ready, he fet out for Brittany, taking his road through Chartres and Mans, and the rich country of Maine to Angers, where he met the queen of Naples, widow of the duke of Anjou, who had stiled himself king of Naples, Sicily and Jerufalem, duke of la Puglia, and count de Provence. Her two fons, the lords Lewis and Charles, were with her.

The queen received her coufin, the count d'Estampes, handsomely, and becoming her situation; and they had many conversations together, such as lords and ladies are accustomed to have. John of Brittany was likewise there, who was not in the good graces of the duke of Brittany, whither the count was going: but he carried it off as well as he could; for, not having any forces to support his pretensions, he was obliged so to do. The count remained at Angers a day and night, and then took his leave, and departed for Chantoceaux *, where

* Chantoceaux, a small town, diocese of Nantes.

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he arrived that day, and then continued his journey to Nantes, where he refreshed himself, and inquired after the duke of Brittany. He was told that he was at Vannes, or in that part of the country, which was his usual place of residence. He took the road for Vannes, where, on his arrival, he waited on the duke, who received him very kindly, for they were nearly connected by blood.

The count d'Estampes, knowing well how to conduct himself with great princes and dames, for he had been brought up and educated with them, acquitted himself with much prudence when in the presence of the duke, and, dissembling with him, did not, for some days, discover the object of his coming. When he found a proper opportunity, he began upon it with great caution and humility, to gain the duke's affection, in manner something like the following: 'My lord and very dear cousin, you must not be surprised if I am come to see you from such a great distance, for I was very desirous of so doing.' He then continued to inform him, word for word, what the duke of Berry had charged him to say.

The duke of Brittany did not seem to pay any great attention to what he said, but, when he had done, replied to the count d'Estampes,—'We have in truth heard before what you now tell us, and will consider of it, for we have not as yet done so. You will remain with us as long as you please, for your coming has given us much pleasure.'

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The count could not, for the present, obtain any other answer; but he continued with the duke, and was lodged within his castle. He staid about fifteen days with the duke of Brittany in Vannes and thereabouts, who treated him with much affection. He shewed him his fair castle of Ermine, which he had newly repaired and beautified, as he there enjoyed himself the most. The count, one day finding him in good humour, again remonstrated with him on his late conduct, and repeated the cause of his coming; but, though the duke's answers were fair, there was no dependence to be placed on his restitution of the hundred thousand francs and the castles to the constable. He did at length restore them; but it was of his own free will, without any request being made, and when it was the least expected, as I will relate in the course of this history, according to the information I received.

The count d'Estampes, finding that a longer stay in Brittany would be useless, determined to take his leave of the duke, and return to France, to the duke of Berry, who had sent him thither. The duke of Brittany parted with him very affectionately, and presented him with a handsome white palfrey, saddled and equipped as if for a king, and a ring with a rich stone, which had cost at least one thousand francs.

The count, on leaving Brittany, went to Angers, where he waited on the queen of Naples and John of Brittany, who were anxious to hear what had passed. They said, 'Fair cousin, you must

must have been well employed, for you have made a long stay in Brittany.' He related to them partly what he had done, but the conclusion was, that he had been unsuccessful. When he had remained with them one day, he departed for Tours, and continued his journey into Berry, and found the duke of Berry at Mehun-sur-Yevre*, where he had lately built a very fine castle, and was daily adding to it.

The duke of Berry entertained the count well, and inquired what had passed in Brittany. The count told him, word for word, the conversation between him and the duke, and that it had been impossible to turn him from his purposes, whatever they might be. The duke of Berry, seeing nothing better could be done, made light of it, and, shortly after, returned to the king and the duke of Burgundy, to relate to them the ill success of the journey the count d'Estampes had undertaken, at his request; to Brittany. As they saw they could not do more, affairs remained in this state.

* Mehun-sur-Yevre, a town in Berry on the Yevre, four leagues from Bourges.

CHAP. XXI.

THE CASTILLIANS AND FRENCH, AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FROM GALICIA, RE-CONQUER, IN A VERY SHORT TIME, ALL THE TOWNS AND CASTLES HE HAD WON.—THE ENGLISH ABUSE CASTILLE, WHEN IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.—THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL INVITE THE DUKE OF IRELAND, WHO HAD FLED FROM ENGLAND, TO PARIS.

YOU have before heard how the English, who had come with the duke of Lancaster to Galicia, had departed, and how the duke and duchess had retired to Oporto, where they had resided some time with king John of Portugal, who had married the duke's daughter. The duke of Lancaster was very disconsolate that his affairs had taken so ruinous a turn, and that his best knights and squires had fallen victims to disease.

The whole country of Galicia was now returned to its allegiance to the king of Castille; for the moment the Castillians, and the french knights under sir Oliver du Guesclin, heard of the duke of Lancaster's departure for Portugal, and that few English had remained behind, they sallied forth to conquer Galicia back again, which was soon done. The inhabitants of cities and towns were more attached to the king of Castille than to the duke of Lancaster, provided, however, he was able to keep
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the field ; for the Castillians and Galicians resemble a good deal the Lombards and Italians, who are always on the side of the strongest, and shout out, ‘ The conqueror for ever ! ’

All which the duke of Lancaster had been able to win before the beginning of July was regained, and the places garrisoned again by French and others under the obedience of the king of Castille. The English, who thought to pass the winter quietly there, were driven out by fair or foul means, for such as made resistance were put to death.—Others, seeing affairs go badly, surrendered on having passports given them to return through Castille to Gascony by Bayonne and Bourdeaux. The duke of Lancaster was duly informed of all this when at Oporto, and not being able any way to provide a remedy, it gave him great uneasiness of heart. This may be readily believed, for the higher the spirit and expectations are, the greater and more bitter are disappointments when things turn out contrary.

He, however, kept up his courage tolerably well, and said at times, that if he had been unsuccessful this year, through the grace of God, he should do better another ; for the fortunes of this world are so changeable, they cannot remain always the same.

The king of Portugal comforted him as much as was in his power, saying, — ‘ Sir, you will keep your state in this country, while you write to your brothers and friends in England the melancholy event of your expedition, though they be now
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fully informed of all, and preſs them to ſend you, early in March next, five or fix hundred ſpears and two thouſand archers. I will re-aſſemble my forces, for my ſubjects are well inclined to fight the Caſtillians, and we will make an effectual war againſt them. A kingdom may be won and loſt in one campaign.'

The duke, on hearing the king thus diſcourſe, was much pleaſed, and returned him his thanks. But, notwithſtanding the king of Portugal had held ſuch language to induce his father-in-law to take courage, the duke was not ignorant that England was in a very troubled ſtate, that the council had many weighty things to attend to, as well reſpecting the affairs of the borders of Scotland, which gave them much uneaſineſs, as concerning the duke of Brittany, who was negotiating important treaties with them. He remembered alſo that he had many difficulties to obtain the force he had brought with him to Galicia, and that, knowing his countrymen well, he had never had any intention of ſeeking a reinforcement, for he was aware the country at preſent was as heavily preſſed as it was able to bear; that thoſe who had gone home from Caſtille would never return thither, and he was fearful they would diſcourage any others from coming to his aid. Although he knew all this, he did not behave well to the king and barons of Portugal in hiding it from them.

After reſiding ſome time at Oporto, he told the king, that many reaſons urged him to return to Bayonne and the Bordelois; for that Portugal, though

though he was so agreeably received there by all, was not his own inheritance. He added, that as there were so many strong places and castles in the archbishoprick of Bordeaux, on the borders of Foix, Armagnac, beyond the Garonne and Dordogne, in Quercy, Perigord, Limousin, Auvergne and other parts, which were still attached to the English, and whose garrisons were carrying on a war under his name: it therefore was his duty to go thither, and give them aid and advice, should there be occasion. He was besides, when in Portugal, too remote to hear news from England; for the English dread the voyage to Portugal, for its length and danger of meeting castilian, galician or seville vessels, which cover that sea, either in going to, or returning from Flanders, with merchandise.

For these and other reasons, the duke of Lancaster made his preparations for departure; and when the galleys, which the king of Portugal had provided for him, under the command of his principal admiral Alphonso Bretat, were ready, and the weather favourable, he and his duchess took leave of the king, their daughter, and the barons of Portugal, and embarked and put to sea. They coasted the shores, and, having wind and weather fair, arrived safely at Bayonne in a few days. The inhabitants of Bayonne and the adjacent parts were much rejoiced at their arrival, for they desired greatly their coming, and waited on them to pay their respects. News of the duke and duchess being at Bayonne with their daughter was spread
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far and near, and gave much pleasure to Bordeaux and the Bordelois.

Sir John Harpedon, *sénéchal* of Bordeaux, and the *sénéchal* des Landes, with other gentlemen of the country, such as the lord de Mucident, the lords de Duras, de Rosem, de Landuras, de Chaumont, de l'Esparre, de Copane, and several more of the principal barons and knights, paid their compliments to the duke. He received them kindly as they came, for they arrived separately. All offered him such services and affection as are due to a lord.

The duke resided this season at Bayonne. He frequently wrote to the king of England and to his brothers; but, for whatever he could urge, he had not any reinforcement of men at arms or archers; and, as things were then situated, the duke of Lancaster and his concerns were totally disregarded. Those who had returned from Castille gave such accounts as discouraged others from going thither. They said, 'The voyage was so long, a war with France would be far more advantageous. France has a rich country and temperate climate, with fine rivers; but Castille has nothing but rocks and high mountains, a sharp air, muddy rivers, bad meat, and wines so hot and harsh there is no drinking them. The inhabitants are poor and filthy, badly clothed and lodged, and quite different in their manners to us, so that it would be folly to go thither. When you enter a large city or town, you expect to find every thing, but you will meet with nothing but wines, lard, and empty coffers.'

coffers. It is quite the contrary in France; for there we have many a time found, in the cities and towns, when the fortune of war delivered them into our hands, such wealth and riches as astonished us. It is such a war as this we ought to attend to, and boldly hazard our lives, for it is very profitable, and not in a war with Castille or Portugal, where there is nothing but poverty and loss to be suffered.'

Such were the conversations of the English who had returned from Castille, so that the ministers who ruled the country, perceived that any expedition thither would be very unpopular. The country was not as yet recovered from the late troubles, which the executions of sir Robert Tresilian and others, and the flight of the duke of Ireland, had thrown it into. The king had also new counsellors, with whom he was not, at that time, well reconciled. All these things prevented any attention being paid to what related to the duke of Lancaster, who still resided at Bayonne.

The situation of England, with respect to its internal divisions, the desperate state of the affairs of the duke of Lancaster, and all that related to the duke of Ireland and his partisans, were perfectly known to the king of France and his council. To gain more information on these subjects; the king, by the advice of his uncles, resolved to invite the duke of Ireland into France, and to send to him at Utrecht, where he resided, proper passports for his coming thither, and for remaining as long as it should be the king's pleasure, and to ~~ret~~ turn

turn whenever the duke should please. It was necessary to send special messengers, and that his passport should be particularly made out, otherwise the duke would not quit Utrecht; for he knew he was in the ill graces of the lord de Coucy, (who was a great baron, and of high birth, in France) and not without cause, for, to say the truth, he had very scandalously treated his duchess, the daughter of the lord de Coucy. This certainly was the principal reason that had blasted his character in France and elsewhere; for he was there as much hated and despised as in England. When this matter was discussed in the council of France, the lord de Coucy strongly opposed it; but they gave so many reasons for the advantages that might be reaped from the duke's coming, as to induce him to yield: indeed, as the king willed it, he could not say more.

The king, being young, was desirous to see the duke of Ireland, because he had been told he was a gallant knight, and that the king of England's love for him had been unbounded. A knight and clerk, who was one of the king's notaries, were sent to seek him.

The duke of Ireland was very much astonished when he first heard the king of France wished to see him, and had many ideas what could be the cause of it. Having considered the passport, he found he might safely go to the king in France, and return to Utrecht when he pleased. He therefore left Utrecht, in company with those who had been sent for him, and continued his journey until
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he arrived at Paris; for the king then resided at the castle of the Louvre. The duke was well received by the king and his uncles; and the king was desirous he would fix his residence in France, and had an hôtel appointed for him to live and keep his state. He had wherewithal to do so handsomely, for he had brought immense sums of money with him from England, and the constable of France was still much indebted to him for the ransom of John of Brittany, as the whole had not been paid. The duke of Ireland made frequent visits to the king, who entertained him well, and he was invited to all the feasts, tilts and tournaments.

CHAP. XXII.

THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE DISAGREE, AS TO THE KING'S GOING INTO GERMANY, ON ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THE REALM.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY STRENGTHENS HIS GARRISONS, AND FORMS ALLIANCES WITH ENGLAND AND THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE ENGLISH RAISE A LARGE ARMY.

YOU have before heard how the count d'Estampes was sent by the duke of Berry into Brittany, in the hopes of conciliating the duke of Brittany, and had returned unsuccessful, to the great vexation of the duke of Berry, but more particularly to that of the king's council; for they knew the eagerness of the king to march to Ger-

many, to revenge himself for the rude and outrageous challenge the duke of Gueldres had sent him.

The wisest of the council, foreseeing what might happen, thought it would be too dangerous for the king, at this moment, to leave the realm. They now clearly saw the duke of Brittany would not listen to terms of accommodation, and felt his conduct, in arresting, confining, and ransoming the constable for one hundred thousand francs, three castles and a town, highly offensive to the honour of France. They heard also, that the duke had entered into a strong alliance with the king of England, and was laying up stores of all kinds in his different towns and castles. He was seeking friends on all sides, so that his barons and knights knew not how to act, (or at least the greater part) whether to go to France, or remain with the duke and abide the event; but they would never have taken arms against France, for the knights and squires of Brittany are too loyal Frenchmen to be induced to be guilty of such conduct. The council were fearful, and with reason, should the king march to Germany with a large force, and he could not do otherwise, that the duke of Brittany would introduce the English to his country, by Saint Malo, Saint Matthieu, Kemper, Treguier, Guerande, Vannes, or on some other parts of the coast, for they could not gain a better entrance into France. They were, therefore, much puzzled, how they could, without compromising the king's honour and that of the realm, bring about a reconciliation

conciliation with the duke. But some of the council said, 'that it would be very blameable in the king to put off his expedition for this duke of Brittany, who was not master of his own country; and he might be assured that the knights and barons of Brittany would never side with him against the king of France. Let the king, in God's name, undertake the expedition, and the constable, with his Bretons, may stay at home to guard the country.' This opinion was ably supported in the council; but others opposed it, saying, 'It cannot be done, for the king will never undertake it without the constable, as he knows more of war than any other knight.' Some argued, saying, 'Let the king then remain, and send thither one of his uncles, for instance my lord of Burgundy, with two thousand lances and seven thousand lusty varlets; for, as the war principally affects him, he is bound to go thither, from his connection with Brabant, which is the seat of war; and he will be joined, when in that country, by seven hundred spears, and from twenty to thirty thousand of the common people.' 'What you say is to no purpose,' others replied, 'for the king is determined to go, as commander in chief: he says, since he has been challenged, he will not refuse it. It is proper he should therefore go; and, as he is young, the oftener he bears arms, the more will he like them.' 'All this is well,' said some, 'but who will be bold enough to advise the king to march so far into Germany, and among such proud and crafty people? The entrance may be easy enough, but not so the

return; for, when they know that the king of France and his nobles are in the heart of their country, they will collect together at some of the passes they are acquainted with, and of which we are ignorant, and completely destroy us. They are the most avaricious of mankind, and the most cruel to their prisoners; for, when they take any in war, they throw them into close dungeons, loaded with fetters, and such like prison furniture: they are cunning enough in these matters, in order to obtain a larger ransom from them. They are in the highest spirits when they make captive a nobleman or man of rank, and carry him with them into Bohemia, Austria, or Saxony, and confine him in some uninhabited castle, where you must seek for him. Such people are worse than Pagans or Saracens, for their extreme covetousness robs them of all ideas of honour. Now, if you conduct the king to such a country, and any melancholy event happen, and who can foresee what unfortunate accidents may not occur? it will be said that we have advised him, like traitors, to his ruin, and not for the welfare of him or the kingdom. But, should the king persist in this expedition (God defend the realm from harm!) whom will he take with him, and what nobles are to attend him? for he must be properly accompanied, and the country, being left empty of defenders, is in risk of total destruction. Who will now advise the king to undertake this matter in person? 'What can be done then?' said others in reply. 'Why,' answered those who had more maturely considered the matter, and weighed

weighed all the difficulties attending it, 'let the king think no more of it, nor send any considerable force thither. The duke of Gueldres is young and hot-headed, and puffed up with having challenged a king of France. It has not proceeded from any solid understanding, but from the self-sufficiency of a young man, who wants to fly before he has wings. Since he has sent his defiance, let him follow it up: the kingdom of France is large, and the moment he shall enter it, whatever part it may be, the king will be instantly informed of it, and have just cause for calling on his subjects for support, and for marching to repel the invader, should he have remained in France, or for pursuing him into Germany. The king will, by such conduct, acquire honour for himself and his kingdom, at a much cheaper rate than by marching into Gueldres. We have been informed, by those well acquainted with the country, that there are four large rivers to pass before you arrive at the duke's territories, and that the smallest is as wide as the Loire at Nemours or la Charité, and the country bad to march through, and worse to be quartered in. Now, those who please may advise the king to undertake his expedition through such a country.'

Thus, as I have said, was the council divided respecting this expedition to Gueldres, which the king was very anxious to accomplish. Indeed, more progress would have been made towards it, if they had not been afraid of the mischief that might come from Brittany; and this delayed it much.

There

There was cause for their fears ; for the duke, who had received information of the challenge of the duke of Gueldres, and of the king's eagerness to march against him, was only waiting until the king had quitted the kingdom, to introduce the English, with whom he had formed an alliance, into his duchy,

The duke had, by his subtle arts, gained over the principal towns to his interest, such as Nantes, Vannes, Rennes, Treguier, Guerrande, Lamballe, St. Malo, and St. Matthieu de Fine Pôterne, but had failed in his attempts to gain the nobles. He hoped, indeed, they would accompany the constable into Germany, and give him freer scope for his war. He filled his towns and castles with all sorts of stores, artillery and provisions, plainly shewing he preferred war to peace.

He had likewise formed a strict alliance with his brother-in-law, the young king of Navarre, and had promised him, that if he succeeded in his attempt to bring over a body of english men at arms and archers, he would lead them instantly to Normandy, and recover for him all those towns and places the late king of France had won from his father by himself, or the lord de Coucy and others. The king of Navarre indulged in these hopes, and paid every respectful compliment to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne, with whom he entered into an alliance.

On the 7th day of April, in the year of grace 1388, it was determined in the council of the king of England, by the dukes of York and Gloucester, that

that Richard earl of Arundel should be appointed commander in chief of a naval expedition. He was to have under him one thousand men at arms and three thousand archers, who were to assemble at Southampton the 15th of May, when the fleet would be ready prepared to receive them, and it was fixed that those who were to accompany him were immediately to begin their march to Southampton.

The king of England kept a grand feast on St. George's day, this year, at Windsor, which was attended by a number of the lords who were to accompany the earl of Arundel, and who there took leave of the king, the queen, his uncles and ladies. The whole of this armament were at Southampton, or in those parts, on the appointed day, and embarked on board the fleet the 20th day of May, when the weather was fine and clear. With the earl of Arundel were, the earls of Nottingham and Devonshire, the lord Thomas Percy, the lord Clifford, sir John de Warwick, sir William Shelle, the lord Camois, sir Stephen de Liberie, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Moreaux, sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir Robert Sere, sir Peter de Montberry, sir Lewis Clanbow, sir Thomas Cook, sir William Paulet, and several more: in the whole, there were one thousand good men at arms and about three thousand archers. They embarked no horses with them; for they hoped, if successful, to find horses in plenty in Brittany. The day they weighed anchor, the sea was so calm and serene, that it was beautiful to behold. They made for the

the shores of Brittany or Normandy, with a determination to land no where else, unless other intelligence should be sent them. They had in their fleet some light vessels (called *Balniers Courfiers*) which drew but little water, and these were sent in advance, to seek adventures, in the same manner as knights and squires, mounted on the fleetest horses, are ordered to scour in front of an army, to see if there are any ambuscades. We will, however, leave this army, and speak of the affairs of Gueldres and Brabant, and of the siege of Grave.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE BRABANTERS LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF GRAVE.—THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE GAINS THE TOWNS OF SAINT MALO AND SAINT MATTHIEU DE FINE PÔTERNE, AND GARRISONS THEM WITH HIS MEN.

I HAVE before given an account of the ancient dukes of Gueldres, and how the eldest son of the first duke married Bertaldo of Mechlin's daughter, in order to redeem his inheritance, and had mortgaged three of his castles to the count de Moure, who, unable to regain the money he had lent, had sold them to Wincelaus duke of Brabant for the same sum, and all the subsequent events to the

the time of duke William of Gueldres, son of the duke of Juliers.

This duke of Gueldres, finding he could no way succeed in recovering his before-mentioned three castles on the Meuse, which had been part of his patrimonial inheritance, resolved to secure himself the possession of Grave from the Brabanters. He had married his bastard-daughter to the young lord of Bruk, who claimed the town of Grave as lord paramount. There was an amicable treaty made between them, such as should be made when fathers and children are concerned; and the young lord of Bruk yielded to the duke all his claims on Grave, and the territories thereto belonging, in the presence of the knights of Gueldres and Juliers.

The duke of Gueldres gave him, in return, the town and territory of Breda, situated on the river Merck, in the duchy of Gueldres, bordering on Holland, below Brabant. It had a handsome castle: the town was extensive and of much trade, but Grave was more valuable. The duke had made this exchange to strengthen himself against the claim of the Brabanters; but the duchess and her subjects said, that the lord of Bruk was only mortgagee in possession, and that she or her heirs might redeem it whenever they pleased. The duke of Gueldres denied this, and hence arose their mutual hatreds and wars.

The Brabanters this year, in the month of May, came with a powerful force of barons, knights and squires, to lay siege to the town of Grave. They brought

brought with them springalls, and various other machines of attack, and they amounted altogether to forty thousand men. There were almost daily skirmishes at the barriers. The town of Grave is situated on the brabant side of the Meuse, over which there is a bridge that connects it with Gueldres.

This siege was a bold enterprize ; but great plenty was in the army of Brabant, and every thing was to be had there for money, and as cheap as at Brussels. In these continual skirmishes at the barriers, where the cross-bows sometimes ventured, the success was variable, as must always happen when the parties are nearly equal.

The duke of Gueldres was regularly informed of every thing that passed at the siege, for he had fixed his residence only four leagues off at Nimeguen. He wrote frequently to England for assistance, and was in hopes the armament at sea under the earl of Arundel, should the winds prove favourable, would come to raise this siege. He knew the town of Grave was strong, and that it was amply supplied with stores and provisions, and could not be won by storm. As it could only be gained by capitulation, he felt assured on that head, as he depended on the fidelity of the inhabitants, that they would never desert him. This siege, therefore, lasted a very considerable time.

The earl of Arundel's fleet was still at sea, and, though no landing had been attempted, it hovered along the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, so that the Normans, from St. Michael's Mount along the shore

shore to Dieppe, Saint Valery, and even Cr toy in Ponthieu, were much alarmed, and uncertain at what place they would disembark. All these sea-port towns were well provided with men at arms, by orders from the king of France, to oppose any invasion.

The marshal de Blainville, who commanded on the coast, sent the lord de Coucy and the lord de Hambre, two great norman barons, to the town of Carentan, which is situated on the sea-shore, and formerly belonged to Charles king of Navarre. The constable of France took possession of the towns of Saint Malo and Saint Matthieu de Fine P terne ; and, as soon as he learnt the English were at sea, he placed sufficient garrisons in both, in the name of the king of France.

It was thought in France, that war would be declared against the duke of Brittany. The knights and squires said, that this appearance of the english fleet was another instance of the duke's perfidy ; for, by their continued hovering along his coasts, it was clear that he had invited them thither. They never quitted their stations, unless forced by stress of weather, and, when favourable, returned to them again.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER HAS INTENTIONS OF MARRYING HIS DAUGHTER TO THE DUKE DE LA TOURAINE, BROTHER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BERRY PROPOSES HIMSELF FOR HER HUSBAND.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS MUCH SATISFIED THEREAT.

I HAVE before said that the duke of Lancaster had quitted Castille and Portugal. His thoughts, on the unfortunate event of his expedition, were not very agreeable; for he saw his hopes annihilated, and that fortune, as very often happens in worldly affairs, had suddenly turned against him, at a time when it was the least expected: for he had left England well accompanied with men at arms, and with every expectation of finishing his campaign in a different manner. It was told him that his adversary had regained, within fifteen days after he had left the country, all his conquests, which had occupied him six weeks.

His army had been wasted away by sickness, and he despaired of any assistance from home; for the English were tired of this war, as it was at such a distance, and the accounts they had heard of the country disgusted them: besides, the duke knew that

that England was much troubled within itself. He foresaw little hope of amendment in his affairs; and though he said not much on this subject, he thought a great deal.

At times, he compared himself and his expedition to the duke of Anjou and his march to Naples; for, when he set out from France, he was so magnificently equipped, nothing was ever seen like to it, and attended by multitudes of knights, squires and men at arms; but the end had been, that all were either killed or ruined.

It was not surprising that the duke, considering his hopes were totally destroyed, should be sometimes melancholy; for the count de Foix, who was one of the wisest princes, in conversation with his knights, had declared the duke of Lancaster's expectations, in regard to the crown of Castille, were completely at an end. The duke was, however, of a high spirit, and sought consolation in the prospect of the elevation of his children. He had with him a handsome daughter, by the lady Constance, daughter of don Pedro, in whose right he had made war on Castille: he, therefore, musing on this subject, said,—‘ If fortune is now unfavourable to me, it may be otherwise to my daughter, who is young and handsome, and by her grandfather and mother the true heiress of Castille. Some gallant prince of France may seek her in marriage, either for the above right or her high birth; for she may boast that she springs from the best blood in Christendom.’ He would gladly have had some overtures made him from France on this head; for he
knew

knew the king had a younger brother, in the duke of Touraine: 'and,' added the duke, 'we might, through his means, recover our inheritance of Castille; for it has been solely through the aid of France that our adversary has kept his crown: should that power turn against him, which would be the case if a marriage took place with the duke of Touraine, he must speedily surrender his throne to my daughter.'

Such were the expectations the duke of Lancaster flattered himself with, and his imaginations were in a way to be realized; not, indeed, by the king of France's brother, but by one who was well qualified to change the face of affairs in Castille, and who had the complete government of France, for without his consent nothing was done! I mean the duke of Berry.

You have before heard how he and his son were made widowers nearly at the same time. What I am about to relate, I know from my own knowledge; for I, the author of this book, was at the time in the country of Blois, on the borders of Poitou and Berry, with my very dear and honoured lord, the count Guy de Blois, by whose desire and encouragement this history was undertaken.

The duke of Berry had, among his other thoughts and plans, a design to marry again. He frequently said to those near his person, that a lord was nothing without a lady, nor a man without a wife. Those in whom he had the greatest confidence replied; 'Very well, my lord, marry then your son John: your house will be more pleasant,
and

and better managed.' 'Ah,' said the duke, 'he is too young.' 'That is nothing, my lord: do not you see the count de Blois has married his son, who is of the same age, with your daughter Mary?'

'That is true,' answered the duke: 'well, name then a lady for him.' 'We name the daughter of the duke of Lancaster.' The duke mused a while, and was some time before he made any reply, when, addressing himself to them, he said,—'You propose marrying my son John with my cousin, the daughter of the duke of Lancaster: by St. Denis, you have made me imagine that she will be an excellent match for myself, and I will shortly write to the duke on the subject. He resides, as I hear, at Bayonne; and I will signify to him that some of my council shall very speedily wait on him to treat of this marriage with me, I say: not for my son John, whom I will marry elsewhere.'

Those to whom he had spoken, on hearing the above, burst out into laughter. 'What do you laugh at?' said the duke. 'We laugh, my lord, because it seems that you prefer to have a good thing yourself, rather than give it your son.' 'By my faith, I am in the right; for my fair cousin of Lancaster will not so readily give his daughter to my son as he will to me.'

Letters were instantly written, and sent to the duke of Lancaster. The messengers, on their arrival at Bayonne, presented the letters to the duke, who, having opened them and perused their contents, was highly delighted, and made those who had brought them good cheer, giving them to understand,

derstand, that their intelligence was very agreeable to him. The duke returned such answers by the messengers as shewed the proposal was very satisfactory, and had given him much joy.

The messengers, on their return, found the duke of Berry in Poitou, but preparing to return to Paris; for the king and the duke of Burgundy had expressly sent for him, to consider of the state of Brittany. Having read the answer from the duke of Lancaster, which afforded him much pleasure, he determined to persevere in the business, although he could not defer his journey to Paris. He resolved, however, to proceed in it by the shortest mode, and sent letters to one of his knights, called sir Helion de Lignac, who at that time was sénéchal of la Rochelle, ordering him to place the town under the government of those he could depend upon, and then, without fail, to hasten to him at Paris.

Sir Helion, on receiving the duke's orders, sealed with his seal, and noticing the haste in which he was summoned to follow him, lost no time in putting la Rochelle and its dependencies under the command of two valiant knights of Beauce, called sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Peter Taillepiè. When this was done, he took the shortest road he could to join the duke, who he knew, from the tenor of his letter, would be impatient to see him.

We will return to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne, and say what were his thoughts on the proposal from the duke of Berry. He was not willing

ing it should be kept secret : on the contrary, he published it every where, that his enemies might be alarmed, and the matter known in the court of his adversary of Castille. The duke, in consequence, wrote several letters, detailing the whole business, with copies of the duke of Berry's proposals, and his answers of consent to the count de Foix, because he knew there was a continual intercourse of knights and squires from all countries at Orthès, going or returning to Castille, or on pilgrimage to or from Sant Jago. He did the same to the king of Navarre, who had married the king of Castille's sister, and by whom he had a numerous family, that the intelligence of this marriage might be more readily believed in Castille than if told by common report. He wrote also on the same subject to the king of Portugal, but was silent respecting it in his letters to the king and his brothers in England, for he knew the English would not be pleased at it : Indeed, they gave proofs of their dislike to this marriage, as soon as they heard of it, as I shall relate when I am come to that part of my history ; but I must now return to the duke of Brittany, as that matter presses.

CHAP. XXV.

THE LORD DE COUCY AND OTHER BARONS OF FRANCE ARE SENT TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY. — BEFORE THEIR ARRIVAL, HE HAD RESTORED TO THE OFFICERS OF THE CONSTABLE THE PLACES HE HAD TAKEN FROM HIM.

ON the duke of Berry's arrival at Paris, many councils were held by those most in the confidence of the king and his uncles, such as the bishops of Langres and Laon, the lord de Coucy and other privy counsellors, as well on the affairs of Gueldres, whither the king was still very desirous of going, as of Brittany; for the duke would not accept of the advances that had been made him towards a reconciliation with France. They knew not whom they could send to make another attempt, since the former negotiators had failed. The council were much troubled on this account, for they had learnt that the duke of Brittany had been busily employed during the winter in victualling again and reinforcing all his towns and castles, which plainly indicated his wish to have been for war.

The wisest of the council said,—‘ You talk of going to Germany: you should rather go to Brittany,

tany, and destroy that insolent duke, who holds in contempt the crown of France and refuses to obey its orders. You will not obtain any thing from him by treaty; and his presumption is so great, he must be taught his duty: he neither loves nor esteems any one but himself. It is clear, that if the king go to Germany, and leave the realm unprotected by men at arms, (and unless he be handsomely attended, he need not think of it,) this duke will introduce the English into his country, and give them an entrance to France. The appearances are now very strong that he will do so; for there is a large english fleet on his coasts, which never leaves them but when forced to it by stress of weather, and when fair it returns; so that I see no alternative; you must have open war or peace.'

‘It would be well,’ replied others, ‘that we again send to him the bishop of Langres and the count de St. Pol, for this last is by marriage his brother-in-law*.’ ‘Oh no, no,’ interrupted sir Yves d’Orient: ‘if you will send to him again, you cannot send one more agreeable to him, nor of greater weight, than the lord de Coucy; for they are connected by marriage, and have always had a great affection for each other; and to the lord de Coucy add whomsoever you please.’

‘Since you have made this proposal, sir Yves,’

* The duke of Brittany and the count de St. Pol married two daughters of Sir John Holland, earl of Kent.

said the duke of Burgundy, 'name those who you think should accompany the lord de Coucy.'—
 'Willingly,' replied sir Yves: 'if you please, then, sir John de Vienne and the lord de la Riviere shall go with him. They are three very intelligent lords; and, if any can make him listen to reason, they will.'

'We agree to this,' said the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

Although the three lords were instructed what they were to say, and how to act, and to use every amicable means to settle the business, they did not quit Paris immediately. The duke of Brittany heard, before these noblemen left France, of their mission, but those who had informed him knew not the particulars they were charged with. He was confident, however, it related to matters of great importance, by the lord de Coucy's appointment. He frequently meditated on the subject, and opened his thoughts to some of the most confidential of his council, for them to give him advice how to act.

'It was commonly reported,' he said, 'that the duke of Lancaster was about marrying his daughter in France to the duke of Berry, and that matters had gone so far that sir Helion de Lignac was on his road to Bayonne to conclude the business with the duke, who was well inclined to it. Such a report surprised him exceedingly; for the duke of Lancaster, who was his brother-in-law, had never written to him on the subject, and all he knew was from public rumour. This silence had not been usual to him formerly, for whenever any of
 his

his affairs had a connection with France, he regularly had informed him of them.'

His council replied,—‘ Sir, you must alter your plans, whatever they may be, or you may be too great a loser, and bring destruction on your country. This you should dread ; for what occasion have you to go to war since you are now at peace, and they are begging you to remain so ? Your lady is far gone with child, and you should pay attention that in her situation she be not alarmed. The king of Navarre can give you but little support, for he has enough to do himself. The duke of Lancaster is a valiant and wise prince ; but he marries, as they say, his daughter to the duke of Berry. This will be the foundation for a long peace between France and England, and various treaties will be formed in consequence. You will see shortly the king of Castille driven from his throne ; for, as the French seated him on it, they can as easily dethrone him : indeed, more easily, for they will have the aid of the duke of Lancaster and the English. We have in truth heard, that the lord de Coucy, the admiral of France and the lord de la Riviere are coming hither, and you may suppose it must be on affairs of the greatest consequence to the king and kingdom, or on the matter of the constable of France, whose cause the king has warmly espoused. They are probably ordered to know positively what are your intentions, and if you persist in your former opinions. Should this last be the case, we suppose (for one may judge tolerably well from appearances) that the immense
force,

force, now rumoured to be destined against Guel-
dres, will be turned against you. Now consider
from whom you may expect assistance, should war
be declared by France, as it most certainly will be
unless you consent to a reconciliation, should the
duke of Lancaster marry his daughter to the duke
of Berry; and this he will do, for where can he
ally himself better in regard to the recovery of his
inheritance? The majority of prelates, barons,
knights and principal towns of the duchy are in
opposition to you. We therefore say, since you ask
our advice, that it is at this moment more than ever
requisite for you to consider well your situation,
and to avoid risking the loss of your country, which
has cost you so much labour and blood to gain.
We know how great your hatred is to sir Oliver de
Cliffon, and that you have mutually shewn your
dislikes to each other; but you must soften it some
little, at least in appearance, for since the king of
France, his uncles and barons have taken up his
quarrel, they will support him: he is and will con-
tinue their constable. Had the late king been alive,
who loved him so much, and you had acted the
same, we know it would have cost the king half of
his kingdom, but he would have made you suffer
for the injury done him. The present king, his
son, is young, and does not pay that attention to
affairs which may be expected from him, if he live,
ten years hence: he is coming on the stage, and
you are going off. Should you, therefore, engage
in a new war with France, after all we have said,
it will be contrary to our opinions, and to those of
every

every man who has any attachment to you. You must dissemble at present what your real inclinations may be. What is to you the holding these castles from sir Oliver de Clifton, which form part of his inheritance, considering the manner in which you gained them? and, whether you have peace or war, they will cost you more to guard for three years than ever you will gain from them in twelve. Give them back, therefore, handsomely; and when the rumour shall be spread abroad, for there is no fire without smoke, that you have so done of your own free will, you will pacify the anger of many, and greatly please the duke of Burgundy, who has never interfered so much in this business as he might, had he so pleased, through the good offices of your cousin the duchess of Burgundy: this we know for fact. She has a numerous family, who are now your nearest relations: recollect, therefore, whence your origin, and who are your connections, and do not estrange yourself from those with whom you ought to be more strongly united: it will be madness if you do, and you will be undeserving pity for what consequences may ensue. Have no connection with England: the English have sufficient employment at home. They will make you great protestations of friendship, in order to take their advantage of it, and nothing more: this you know, for you were in your youth brought up among them.'

The duke was much struck on hearing such very forcible reasoning, and remained some time leaning over a window that opened into a court, with-

out

out making any reply. His council were standing behind him; and, after some musing, he turned round and said,—‘ I perceive clearly that you have well and honestly advised me. I want nothing but good counsel, and yet how can I pretend to cherish love where I only feel hate? How can I ever love sir Oliver de Clifson, who has given me such repeated causes for hatred? and the thing I most repent of in this world is, the not having put him to death when I had him in my castle of Ermine.’

‘ In the name of God, sir,’ replied those near him, ‘ had you put him to death, you could never have possessed yourself of his estates, for there is an appeal from this duchy to the parliament of Paris. John of Brittany and the son of the viscount de Rohan are his heirs by marriage with his two daughters, and would of right have succeeded to his estates; and you are much blamed for what you have already done respecting the three castles, by their friends in France. The constable has made his complaints to the chamber of parliament at Paris, where sentence will be given against you, for you have no one there to make any defence for what he may accuse you of. When you shall have lost this cause, sir Oliver de Clifson and his heirs will be intitled to follow up the judgment by force of arms; and, should the king and country take part in assisting them, you must have a greater power than we know you have at this moment to make any resistance. It will therefore be more to your advantage, if, while this matter is pending,
you

you surrender up these castles, and be thanked for so doing, rather than wait until judgment be given against you, with heavy damages. You will also regain the good will of your subjects, which is certainly worth having, and live in peace with those whose affections you should wish to preserve; I mean the king of France, who is your sovereign and natural lord, and my lord of Burgundy and his children, your cousins. You have seen an example in your own time in the late earl of Flanders, your cousin-german, who, though a valiant and wise prince, was, through extraordinary events, at the latter end of his days, nearly driven out of his inheritance; but, by humbling himself to the king of France and his uncles, they assisted him in the recovery of his country.'

'Well,' replied the duke, 'I see since I have asked your advice, it will be proper for me to follow what you have said.'

I believe every thing went on well afterwards; at least, such were the appearances; for the duke of Brittany, who had hitherto kept possession of the constable's castles, now remanded his men from them, and gave up their possession to the officers of Sir Oliver de Clifton. This was the first act of moderation on his part: but it did not satisfy the king nor council of France, who insisted on the restitution of the money that had been paid as part of the ransom, and that the duke should come to Paris, and personally make excuses for his conduct to the king, in the presence of the peers of France, and submit to such punishment as the king and his peers

peers might, after great deliberation, adjudge him.

The three envoys to Brittany were well pleased when they heard of the restitution of the constable's castles, and the lord de Coucy said,—‘ Now, gentlemen, we have one obstacle the less to surmount, and I suppose the duke will listen to what we may have to say to him.’

I was told, that before these three barons left Paris, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy held several private consultations with them, and recommended them to use every gentle method to bring matters to a favourable conclusion, in preference to harsh ones; and to prevail on the duke to come to Paris, or at least half way to the town of Blois, where they would meet him and hold a conference together. The three barons, who were prudent and had received their full instructions, said, they would use their utmost endeavours to comply with their wishes. On leaving Paris, they continued their journey until they came to the city of Rennes in Brittany, where, on asking for the duke, they learnt he was at Vannes, whither they went.

Their coming was already known in the household of the duke, for they had sent forward servants to prepare their lodgings. The duke had assembled his council and the principal barons of Brittany near his person, to shew them the more honour. They were well received on their entering Vannes, by the knights and others of the duke's household, who had gone forth to meet them, and
in

in particular by the lord de Laval, who resided there.

They dismounted at their lodgings, and, having dressed and refreshed themselves with what they there found, re-mounted their horses, and rode to the castle de la Motte, the residence of the duke, who met and received them with much joy, telling them they were welcome, for that he was very happy in seeing them. He took the lord de Coucy by the hand, and shewed him much kindness, saying,—‘ Fair brother, you are welcome : I rejoice to see you in Brittany : before you leave me, I will give you fine sport with hunting stags, and in hawking.’ ‘ Dear brother and lord,’ replied the lord de Coucy, ‘ I thank you ; and I and my companions will cheerfully partake of them.’

The duke shewed them every attention, and conducted them, laughing and joking, to his apartments, where they amused themselves with much cheerfulness, as great lords are accustomed to do who have not seen each other for some time. All four knew how to keep up a brilliant conversation as well, if not better than any lords I ever saw, not excepting the duke of Brabant, the count de Foix, nor the count de Savoy ; and, in particular, the lord de Coucy shone above all others, as was acknowledged by all lords and ladies, in whatever country he had visited, whether France, England, Germany, Lombardy, or any other places. He had seen much of the world, and had travelled to various parts, to which he was naturally inclined.

During

During the time these lords were in conversation, spices were brought in handsome silver comfit boxes, and fine wines in gold and silver cans. The lords partook of both, and shortly after took leave and returned to their lodgings. Thus passed the first day, without one word being said of the cause of their coming.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILE HELION DE LIGNAC, AMBASSADOR FROM THE DUKE OF BERRY TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IS NEGOTIATING THE MARRIAGE WITH HIS DAUGHTER, THE KING OF CASTILLE SENDS AMBASSADORS PRIVATELY TO BREAK IT OFF, AND TO DEMAND THE LADY IN MARRIAGE FOR HIS SON.—HELION DE LIGNAC IS SENT AWAY, THE DAY OF THEIR ARRIVAL, WITH SOME TRUCES RESPECTING THE FRONTIERS OF AQUITAINE.

WE will now return to sir Helion de Lignac, who had been sent by the duke of Berry to the duke of Lancaster. The knight arrived safely at Bayonne, and, having dismounted at his inn, made himself ready to wait on the duke, who had already been informed of his arrival, and, as a mark of honour, had sent two of his knights to visit him at his hôtel, and to conduct him to him.

Sir

Sir Helion, on being introduced to the duke, saluted him very profoundly, as was proper, and he knew well how to acquit himself. The duke received him most honourably, raised him up in his arms, and took him by the hand to lead him into an apartment, for they had met in the hall. Sir Helion then gave him the letters he had been charged with from the duke of Berry. The duke, having opened and read them, advanced towards sir Helion, who declared the business he had been sent on. The duke very courteously replied, and said to sir Helion, he was welcome; that the matter he was come to treat on was of such importance, it was necessary he should deliberate with his council thereon, and that he could not instantly give him a decided answer.

Sir Helion de Lignac remained at Bayonne with the duke of Lancaster and his knights upwards of a month, and was treated most kindly by words and otherwise, and made to understand that the duke was not unwilling to accept of the duke of Berry's proposals; but this was not the fact, for all these fine speeches and delays were fictions, and solely used to give more publicity to what was going forward, more especially that it should be known in the kingdom of Castille, for there his affections were placed.

The duke of Lancaster said to sir Helion, that if his cousin of Berry married his daughter, he must unite all his force with him to wage war on his adversary of Castille, that his daughter's inheritance might be recovered. Sir Helion, in reply, said,—
‘ My

‘ My lord, I am not charged to say any thing respecting this matter : you will, before my departure, write down what you expect, and I will carry it to the duke of Berry, whose affection is, I know, so strong towards you, that he will enter into all reasonable alliances you may propose.’ ‘ We wish for nothing more,’ said the duke. Things remained in this state during the time of sir Helion’s residence at Bayonne, where he was gaily entertained according to the orders the duke had given.

In the mean while, news of this intended marriage was every where spread abroad ; and, in particular, it was carried to the court of king John of Castille by those who said,—‘ Do you know what is going forwards ? There are important treaties negotiating with the dukes of Berry and Lancaster, for a match between the duke of Berry and the lady Catherine ; and, if this be concluded, as there seems every probability, it will not be done without strong alliances being made between them. The duke of Berry has at this moment great power : he is the elder uncle of the king of France, and takes the lead in the government of that country. He will succeed in whatever he may propose, as to peace or long truces with England : and, on the other hand, the duke of Lancaster stands in the same relation to the king of England, is wife and of great power ; and, as it should seem, the English are tired of war. If therefore, by means of this connection with France, a firm peace should be established with England, we shall have the war to support alone ; for the duke of Lancaster will
not

not give up tamely his claims on Castille, but, on the contrary, insist on establishing them, as his daughter's lawful inheritance and dower. We shall thus have war with France and England.'

Those most in the confidence of the king of Castille said to him,—'Sire, have you heard the rumours that are abroad? You had never such need of good advice as at this moment. The dangers from the duke of Lancaster are thicker than ever, and the blast comes from France.' 'How!' replied the king: 'what do you mean?' 'In the name of God, sir, the report is every where current, that the duke of Berry is to marry the duke of Lancaster's daughter, and you may suppose this will not be done without great alliances being made between them; and you may in future suffer as much from the French as you have lately gained by them.'

The king, on hearing this, was very pensive; for he knew what they had said was true. He demanded advice from those who had ever been attached to him, how, in such a circumstance, he ought to act, and they gave him loyal and good counsel, as I will relate.

You have before heard, in this history, how king Henry of Castille had made his peace with the king of Arragon, on condition that his son John, the present king of Castille, married his daughter. This marriage brought peace to the two countries. King John had one son by this lady, who shortly after died; and then, by the advice of his council, he married again with the lady Beatrice,

trice, daughter to the king of Portugal. The son, by the princefs of Arragon, was a promifing youth, though very young.

The council of Caftille, in reply to the king's demand, faid,—‘ Sire, we can only fee one remedy to avert the evils that may be confequent to this marriage with the duke of Berry.’ ‘ What is it?’ asked the king. ‘ It is the infant don Henry your fon, who is alone capable of preventing this match; for we are perfuaded, that if the duke and duchefs of Lancafter were informed you were willing to unite him with the lady Catherine, they would prefer him to the duke of Berry.’ ‘ In God's name,’ answered the king, ‘ you fay well, and I will instantly fet about it; for our fubjects will be quite fatisfied, that by fuch a marriage they will have peace with England on fea and land. Now, confider of the moft proper perfons to fend to treat with the duke of Lancafter.’

‘ Sire, it is neceffary you fhould, in this matter, employ thofe of the greateft prudence and fagacity; and that it be treated with the utmoft fecrecy, left you incur the hatred of the king of France. Great jealousies are now abroad, and perfons are more eager to report fcandal than good actions, for evil reports are fooner made public than others. When it fhall be told to the court of France that you are in treaty with the duke of Lancafter, they will wifh to know the fubject and the particulars, left it may prejudice the ftrong alliance the late king, your father, of worthy memory, entered into with them, and on which account the French have affifted you
in

in your wars. You must, therefore, send to the duke of Lancaster wise and discreet persons, that the matter may be secretly treated, and kept private until all things be completely settled.'

'What you have said is right,' replied the king: 'now name those whom you think capable of accomplishing the matter.'

'Sire,' said they, 'we will send your confessor, father Fernando de Torre, and the bishop of Geghene*, who was confessor to the late king, and Peter Gardelempos, who is a great orator.' 'Be it so, then,' answered the king: 'I consent. Let them be sent for, and instructed what they are to say, and how to act; for formerly, when there was a treaty of peace in agitation, they were not listened to by the duke of Lancaster, who insisted, as a preliminary, that I should lay down my crown, and this I will never do.'

The three above-mentioned persons were summoned to Burgos, where the king resided, and told from him on what object they were to be sent to Bayonne, to treat with the duke of Lancaster. They professed themselves willing to undertake it to the best of their abilities, and set out on their journey with few attendants, not like to ambassadors going to form alliances, for they were not certain what success they should have. On entering Navarre, they made for Pampeluna, the residence of the king, who had married the king of Castille's sister.

* Geghene. Q.

She entertained them kindly, but they did not discover to her, nor to the king, the cause of their journey. They passed over the mountains of Pampeluna and Roncevalles, through the country of the Basques, and arrived at the good town of Bayonne.

At the time of their arrival, sir Helion de Lignac was still there, but made no long stay afterwards; for father Fernando, the king of Castille's confessor, waited privately on the duke of Lancaster, as better acquainted with him than the others, and gave him to understand the cause of their coming, and by whom they were sent.

The duke, on hearing this, opened his ears, for the intelligence was highly agreeable to him, and bade father Fernando a hearty welcome. This same day he gave sir Helion de Lignac leave to depart; and it seems to me that the duke consented to a truce for those who were carrying on the war under his name in the seneschalships of Aquitaine, Bigorre, Toulouse and other places, comprehending all within the river Loire, but not beyond it, to last until the first day of May 1389. This truce had been requested by the duke of Berry, that his people might pass and repass from him to the duke of Lancaster with greater security; for those of Mortagne sur mer, Bouteville, and the garrisons in Quercy, Perigord, and on the Garonne, were very cruel, sparing none, and acknowledging no lord. It was to keep these people in better order that the duke of Berry had solicited a truce, which was well observed,

Sir

Sir Helion de Lignac left the duke of Lancaster on terms of the strongest affection, and he seemed sensible things were in the train he wished them, for the duke seemed very well satisfied with what the duke of Berry had offered. He had indeed declared, that he never could marry his daughter in France without the consent of his nephew the king of England and the english council; but matters were now so far advanced, he seemed to think there would not be any great difficulty to obtain them. On these assurances, sir Helion returned to France, delivered letters from the duke of Lancaster to the duke of Berry, and related to him all that had passed; with which he was much satisfied.

We will now speak of the ambassadors from Castille. These were indeed cordially listened to by the duke and duchess, for their hearts were wrapped up in their hopes of regaining the crown for themselves or their child. They were very kindly received on their introduction at the castle by the duke and duchess, to whom they delivered their credential letters, and explained the object of their mission. They first proposed a treaty of peace with Castille, which the father-confessor discoursed much on, in the apartment of the duke, where only the duchess was present, who interpreted to the duke what he did not understand, as she had in her youth been educated in Castille, and understood the language perfectly well.

The duke of Lancaster, at this first interview, did not discover his real sentiments, although he

entertained them well, but said it would be difficult to exchange such hatred for peace, and to establish it with one whom they wanted to disinherit, and that it was not his intention to relinquish his claim to the crown of Castille. The friar and bishop replied, 'that there was one means of reconciling his right and the right of their lord and king; and, my lord, we have found it.' 'What is it?' said the duke. 'Sir, you have by your lady a beautiful daughter, of an age to marry, and our lord of Castille has a handsome and young son: if an union between those two could be brought about, the kingdom of Castille would have peace for ever; for what you claim will fall where it ought, to your own heir, who is the lineal descendant from our kings of Castille; and all the fatigues you have undergone in this war must have been for the ultimate succession of this young lady.'

'That is true,' replied the duke; 'but I must have my expenses reimbursed, for I would have you know that my expedition to Castille has cost England and me upwards of five hundred thousand francs. I should like, therefore, to hear what you say of repayment.' 'My lord,' said the confessor, 'if what we have proposed shall be agreeable to you, we will manage all other things to your perfect satisfaction.'

'Your coming hither,' replied the duke, 'has given us pleasure; and I shall certainly marry my daughter, before I return to England, to Castille or France, as I have had proposals from thence; but matters like these are of such importance, that

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an answer cannot be given at the first overture.—
 With regard to my daughter, whom I consider as
 the rightful heiress of Castille, I would be well
 acquainted with him who should marry her.’
 ‘ That is but reasonable, my lord,’ said the con-
 fessor.

Thus, as I have related, were the proposals of
 marriage made from France and Castille, to the
 duke of Lancaster, for the marriage of his daugh-
 ter. They were both well received, refusals made
 to neither, and the ambassadors well entertained.
 The marriage, however, with Castille was more
 agreeable to the duke and duchess, because their
 daughter would in due time become queen of
 Castille.

We will now leave the duke of Lancaster, and
 return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY LEAVE PARIS FOR BLOIS, TO HOLD A CONFERENCE WITH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, WHO MEETS THEM THERE. —THEY PERSUADE HIM, AGAINST HIS INCLINATION, TO COME TO PARIS.

THE duke of Brittany, as I have said, received the french knights with much kindness, more particularly the lord de Coucy, whom he had been desirous to see. I was informed at the time, the lord de Coucy was the most instrumental in making the duke change his mind : not but that sir John de Vienne and the lord de la Riviere exerted themselves to the same purpose, but all princes, when they are entreated, will naturally incline to some persons more than others.

The duke of Brittany consented, with great difficulty, to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy at Blois : after many fair speeches, he said he would go thither, but not one step farther. The lord de Coucy replied, that they asked nothing more, unless it should be perfectly agreeable to him. These three lords staid with the duke of Brittany I know not how many days, and then returned to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to tell them their success.

Upon

Upon this, the two dukes made preparations for going to meet the duke of Brittany at Blois, and sent before all purveyances suitable to their rank. The duke of Berry arrived first at the castle, where he was kindly received by the countess of Blois, his son and her daughter, as was becoming him and them.

Count Guy de Blois was not at this time in the country, but at Châtel Regnaud, and, as the countess and her children were at home, he paid no attention to the arrival of the duke of Berry. The duke of Burgundy came in a grand style, accompanied by his son-in-law, lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant, and his son John of Burgundy, called count de Nevers. The duke was also lodged in the castle, and held there his court.

The duke of Brittany came last, but with no great array, attended only by those of his household, in number about three hundred horse; for it was his intention to return to his own country as soon as these conferences should be over. Such, however, were not the intentions of the other dukes; for they said, whether he would or not they would force him to come to Paris. The duke of Brittany was lodged at the house of a canon of St. Sauveur, within the castle; but his attendants, with those of the other lords, were quartered in the town. These princes kept their state in the castle, which is large, and one of the handsomest in the kingdom of France.

Conferences were held between the three dukes; and those of France gave handsome entertainments

to the duke of Brittany, shewing him much affection, and repeatedly thanking him for coming to Blois. The duke dissembled as well as he could, and said, that indeed it was from his love to them he had undertaken such a journey, for that he was very unwell. In the course of their conversations, they told the duke of Brittany, that since he had come so far, he would have done nothing if he did not continue his journey to Paris, for the king was very anxious to see him. The duke made every excuse for not complying with this proposal, saying, his health was too bad to go so far; that he had not brought any attendants with him, but simply those of his household, meaning to return home directly.

They kindly answered, that, begging his pardon, it would not be decorous for him to visit his lord paramount with too large a company; that if he were too ill to ride, they were provided with litters and cars that should be at his service; and that he was bound to pay his homage to the king, which he had never yet done.

The duke of Brittany, in excuse, said, that when the king should be of age, and take the reins of government, he would come to Paris, or to any other place whither he might order him, to perform his homage, for he was bounden so to do. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy replied, that he was of sufficient age and understanding to receive homage; and that every lord of France, and all who held fiefs under the crown, excepting himself, had done their homage, for the king was now in
his.

his twenty-first year. The duke of Brittany, finding his excuses of no avail, said,—‘ Should I go to Paris, it will be much against my inclination, and very prejudicial to my interests; for, when there, I shall meet sir Oliver de Clifton, whom I hate, and we can never cordially love each other after what has passed: he will make me bitter and injurious reproaches, and consider what may be the consequences.’ ‘ Oh no,’ answered the two dukes, but in particular the duke of Burgundy, ‘ fair cousin, have no fear from that quarter; for we solemnly swear to you, that neither the constable nor John of Brittany, unless you wish it, shall see or speak with you: of this be assured: but you shall see the king, who is anxious for it, and the barons and knights of France, who will make you good cheer; and when you have completed the object of your journey, you shall return home without hindrance or hurt.’

Why should I make a long story? The duke of Brittany was so sweetly entreated, that he consented to go to Paris; but he insisted that he should never see the constable of France nor John of Brittany, and that they should never be in the same company with him. The two dukes solemnly pledged themselves to all his requests; and on their faith he engaged to set out for Paris. They remained five or six days in the castle of Blois, and alternately gave grand entertainments to each other, the countess and her children.

Every thing having been so settled, the two dukes took leave of the duke of Brittany and re-
turned

turned to Paris; but the lord William of Hainault did not accompany his father-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. He attended the countess of Blois and her family to châtel Regnaud, to visit count Guy de Blois, where he was kindly received and entertained for three days, when he took leave of them and went to Paris, by way of Chateau-dun* and Bonneval†.

CHAP. XXVIII.

LEWIS OF ANJOU, SON TO THE LATE DUKE OF ANJOU, UNCLE TO KING CHARLES VI. MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO PARIS AS KING OF SICILY.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY COMES THERE SHORTLY AFTER.—THOMAS HAPURGAN, AN ENGLISHMAN, AND JOHN DES BARRES, A FRENCHMAN, PERFORM A DEED OF ARMS BEFORE THE KING OF FRANCE AT MONTEREAU SUR YONNE‡.

THE duke of Brittany went to Beaugency, on the Loire, where he made his preparations for going to Paris. But before he came thither, there

* Chateau-dun, an ancient town in Beauce, diocese of Blois, twelve leagues from Chartres, thirty-four from Paris.

† Bonneval, a town in Beauce, four leagues from Chateau-dun.

‡ Montereau sur Yonne, a town in Brie, seven leagues from Melun, twenty and a half from Paris.

arrived

arrived the queen of Sicily and Jerusalem, widow of the late duke of Anjou, who had borne the title of king of those countries, as well as of Naples. She had brought with her her young son Lewis, who throughout France was acknowledged as king of Naples, and was likewise accompanied by her brother, John of Brittany.

Before she entered Paris, she signified to her brothers, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, her arrival, with her son Lewis, their nephew, and desired to know whether he should make his entry as king, or simply as duke of Anjou. The two dukes, having considered the matter, sent for answer, that they desired he would make his entry as king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, although he was not as yet in the possession of these kingdoms; for they would assist him, and prevail on the king of France to do the same, so effectually, that he should recover those territories, and peaceably possess them as his right, and what they had most sacredly promised to perform to their late brother the king of Naples.

The lady, upon this, made preparations accordingly; and, having entered Paris, her son passed in grand cavalcade, through the street of St. James, to his hôtel in the Grève, with kingly state, accompanied by numbers of dukes, counts and prelates. The queen and her son, having established themselves there, waited on the king, who resided at the castle of the Louvre, expecting the duke of Brittany.

The duke of Brittany, on his approach to Paris,
stopped

stopped one night at Bourg la Reine, previous to his entry which he made on the morrow. This was great news for the Parisians, on account of the late events of the arrest and imprisonment of the constable, and the fruitless embassies that had been sent to summon him : his late conduct and his coming now as it were, of his own free will, were variously spoken of. It was on a Sunday, the vigil of St. John Baptist's feast, in the year 1388, at ten o'clock in the morning. The duke of Brittany entered Paris by the gate de l'Enfer *, and, passing the whole length of the rue de la Harpe, crossed the pont de Saint Michel, and came in front of the palace. He was handsomely accompanied by numbers of barons and knights ; among whom was the lord William of Hainault, count d'Ostrevant ; his brother-in-law John of Burgundy, and the lord William de Namur rode before him.

When he arrived at the castle of the Louvre, he dismounted, and, as he passed through Paris, was much stared at by the common people.

The duke entered the gate of the Louvre well prepared what to say, and how to act. He was preceded by the lord de Coucy, the count de Savoie, sir John de Vienne, sir Guy de la Trimouille, sir John de Beuil, the count de Meaux, sir Reginald de Roye and sir John des Barres : nearer

* De l'Enfer. It is now the gate of Saint Michel. For more particulars, see Sauval, *Antiquités de Paris*, tom. i. p. 36.

to him, on each side, were the lord William de Namur, John of Burgundy and the count d'Ostrevant : behind him were, the lord de Montfort in Brittany, and the lord de Malestroit, his relation and minister.

There was a great crowd in the apartment, which was not only small, but the table was spread in it for the king's dinner, who was standing before it with his three uncles of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon. The moment the duke of Brittany entered the room, way was made for him, and an opening formed to the king, by the lords falling on each side. When in the presence, he dropped on one knee, but speedily arose, and advanced about ten or twelve paces, when he again kneeled : on rising, he came close to the king, kneeled the third time, and saluted him bare-headed, saying, ' My lord, I am come to see you : may God preserve you ! ' ' Many thanks,' replied the king. ' I was anxious for your coming : we will see and converse with you at our leisure.' On which he took him by the hand, and raised him up. When the duke had risen, he bowed to all the princes present, one after the other, and then stood opposite to the king without saying a word ; but the king never took his eyes off him.

A signal was made to the masters of the household to bring water, when the king washed, and the duke of Brittany held the basin and towel.

When the king was seated, the duke took leave of him and of his uncles. The lord de Coucy, the lord de Saint Pol, and other great barons conducted

ducted him to the court where his horses waited, and, having mounted, he returned with his attendants the way they had come, through the street de la Harpe, and dismounted at his hôtel. None of those who had attended him remained, excepting such as had accompanied him from Brittany to Paris.

The duke of Brittany had frequent conferences with the king of France and his uncles to their mutual satisfaction; and they religiously kept the promise they had made him, for he never saw, during his stay at Paris, John of Brittany nor the constable of France. When affairs were in so good a train that they had not reason to be suspicious of the duke of Brittany, (for, if he had not consented to every thing the king and his council wished, they would never have suffered him to escape from their hands, as they now had him in Paris,) they thought it time to prepare for the expedition to Gueldres, for which the king was impatient, to punish the duke of Gueldres for the insolent and rude challenge he had sent him; which, the more it was considered, was the less to be borne.

The lord de Coucy was therefore ordered into the country, near Rheims and Châlons in Champagne, to mark out the line of march for the king and his army, and to excite the knights and squires of Bar and Lorraine to join him. He was in no way to introduce the king's name, but to engage them for himself, as if preparing for an expedition into Austria. Upon this, the lord de Coucy left
Paris,

the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, except when driven off by storms, but it always returned to its station. There were in this fleet some light vessels called *Balleniers*, which are much used by corsairs; for, as they draw little water, they can the easier approach the shores. This fleet had lain at anchor upwards of a month off the island of Brehat, whence it had got provision. As it was not far from la Roche-derrien, they heard that the duke of Brittany was gone to Blois, to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who had held such fair language as persuaded him to go to Paris, where he had been so well received by the king, as to prevent him from leaving that place until every thing had been satisfactorily settled.

The earl of Arundel was much cast down when he heard the above, and called a council of his principal officers, to consider how they were to employ their force during the remainder of the season. In this council they resolved to sail for la Rochelle and make war on that country; for, though they had not any castles in those parts, yet they were in sufficient numbers to withstand the force Saintonge or Poitou could send against them. They intended likewise to make their situation known to their friends in Limousin and Auvergne, by some person in their fleet that was acquainted with the country, whom they would land on the coast of Brittany.

The truces which sir Helion de Lignac had obtained from the duke of Lancaster had not yet taken effect. They were to commence on the first

was then the custom, I believe, to lace on the helmets with a flight thong, that they might not make too great resistance to the blow of the lance. At the fifth course, John des Barres struck his opponent so violent a blow on the shield, that he knocked him over the crupper of his horse to the ground. Sir Thomas was stupified by the fall, and it was with much difficulty he could be raised: however, he recovered well enough to perform his other courses with the different arms, to the satisfaction of the king and his lords.

CHAP. XXIX.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS TAKES THE FIELD BY COMMAND OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, WHO LANDS HIS FORCES AT MARANS*, NEAR LA ROCHELLE.

I HAVE been some time silent respecting the expedition that was at sea under the command of the earl of Arundel: it is now necessary I should speak of it. You have before heard the cause of its being sent from England, and the treaties that were made between the king and the duke of Brittany. This fleet had remained the whole season on

* Marans, a town in Aunis, four leagues from la Rochelle.

of August, and the knight was at this time going or returning, I know not which, to or from the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne.

It fell out just as the earl of Arundel and the english barons wished ; for they found out a man from lower Brittany, who served under sir William Helimon, then on board, who came from near Vannes, and understood four languages perfectly well, that of lower Brittany, English, Spanish and French. Before they landed him on the sand, they gave him the following orders : ‘ Thou wilt go by all the bye-roads in this country, which thou sayest thou art acquainted with, until thou shalt come to Chaluçet*. Thou wilt salute Perrot le Béarnois from us, and tell him, that we desire he will take the field, with as many other garrisons of our party as he can, and make war on France under our commission. Thou shalt not carry any letters for fear thou mightest be stopped and searched. Say, if thou findest thyself in danger, that thou belongest to a wine-merchant of la Rochelle, who had sent thee with some commissions, and thou wilt pass every where. Tell Perrot to give instant alarm to Berry, Auvergne and Limoufin, by taking the field ; for we will disembark near la Rochelle, and make such a war that he shall soon hear of us.’

The Breton said, he would faithfully deliver the message, unless he were stopped on the road. On being landed, as he knew well the country of Brit-

* Chaluçet, a town in Limoufin, near Pierre-buffiere.

tany; he avoided all great towns, and, passing safely through Poitou and Limoufin, arrived at Chaluçet, of which Perrot le Béarnois was governor. On coming to the barriers, having made acquaintance with the garrison, they allowed him to enter, after examining him at the gates, and led him to Perrot, to whom he punctually delivered the message, to the great joy of the governor, who had been long impatient to hear some news of the fleet, and now he had it quite fresh. He said to the Breton,—
 ‘Thou art welcome: my companions and myself are very eager to take the field, which we will now speedily do, and then act as we are ordered.’

Perrot le Béarnois instantly sent to the governors of Carlat, the bourg de Compagne, to Olim Barbe, captain of Ouzach, to Amerigot Marcel, captain of Aloise, near Saint Flour, and to the captains of the other forts in Auvergne and Limoufin, to say he was about to take the field, as the season was now favourable, and desiring they would join him, after having left garrisons in their forts strong enough to prevent any accident during their absence. These companions had as great a desire to take the field as Perrot le Béarnois; for they could only enrich themselves by the losses of others, and, making their preparations in haste, came to Chaluçet, where the general assembly had been fixed. They amounted to full four hundred lances, and thought themselves in sufficient strength for any gallant enterprise, and that there was not a lord in the country able to withstand them; for sir Wil-

liam de Lignac and Bonne-lance would not, on their account, break up the siege of Ventadour.

Being masters of the country, they began their march through Auvergne, towards Berry, because they knew the duke was with the king at Montereau sur Yonne. We will, for a while, leave Perrot le Béarnois, and speak of the earl of Arundel and his fleet, and what they did on quitting the coast of Brittany.

When they weighed anchor, the weather was so fine and beautiful, they hoisted every sail, and advanced as it pleased God. It was a magnificent sight to view this fleet of six score vessels, whose streamers, emblazoned with the arms of the different lords, were glittering in the sun, and fluttering with the wind. They floated as it were on a sea that seemed proud to bear them, and which might be compared to a vigorous courser, who, after being long confined in the stable, gains its liberty to bound over the plains; for thus did the sea, gently ruffled by the wind, swell on with a burden it was lustily bearing, and, figuratively speaking, it may be supposed to say,—‘ I delight in carrying you, and will do so without danger, until you be arrived in a safe harbour.’

The fleet coasted Saintonge and Poitou, and cast anchor off Marans, near la Rochelle. Some of the most adventurous, to the amount of two hundred, observing the tide was flowing, entered their barges, and sailed up the river to the town of Marans. The watch on the castle had noticed the english fleet anchoring, and the barges ascending the
the

the river with the tide, and had founded his horn frequently, to alarm the townsmen, that they might save all they could of their property. The inhabitants, of both sexes, carried their most valuable things to the castle for safety; and it was well they did so, or they would have been lost. While the English were landing, they discontinued saving their property, to take care of their lives.

The English, on entering the town, began to pillage it, for this had been the object of their coming, but they only found empty coffers: their contents had been carried to the castle. They discovered, however, plenty of corn, wine and salted provisions: for there were upwards of four hundred tons of wine in the town. They resolved to remain to guard this provision, which came very opportunely to them; for, should they depart, they imagined the greater part would be carried away by the French, up the river, to Fontenay le Comte. They remained this night in the place, having arrived there only about vespers, and gave themselves full liberty, sending, however, to inform their companions of their situation, and the reason why they did not return.

The earl of Arundel and the other lords were satisfied, and said they had acted right. On the morrow, when the tide began to flow, the smaller vessels weighed anchor, and in them were embarked the armour and other necessaries from the large ships that, from their size, could not enter the river. There were left in them one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers to guard them, as they

they lay at anchor off the mouth of the river. When this had been done, they sailed for Marans, and landed at their leisure, for none came to oppose them; and fixed their quarters between Marans and la Rochelle, which is but four short leagues distant. The alarm was soon spread over the country that the English had landed at Marans, to the amount of four hundred combatants, including archers. The towns and castles in the low country were much frightened, and the villagers instantly fled to the neighbouring forests for protection.

CHAP. XXX.

THE ROCHELLERS SKIRMISH WITH THE ENGLISH NEAR MARANS.—THE ENGLISH, AFTER PILLAGING THE COUNTRY ROUND, RETIRE WITH THEIR BOOTY TO THEIR FLEET.—PERROT LE BEARNOIS DOES THE SAME TO HIS PORT, WITH A GREAT DEAL OF PLUNDER.

IF the English had had horses, they would have much harassed the country round la Rochelle; for it was void of men at arms, at least such as could have opposed them successfully. True it is, that the lords de Partenay, de Pons, de Linieres, de Tannaybouton, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, the lord de Montendre, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, the viscount de Thouars, and many other knights
and

and squires of Poitou and Saintonge, were in the country, but each was in his own castle; for they had not any suspicions of the English coming to invade them.

Had they been so fortunate as to obtain notice of their intentions, they would have been prepared to receive them, but it was not so; and the surprise was so great, that all were frightened, and impatient to save what they could. The farmers began to hasten their harvest of corn, for it was the beginning of August. Add to this, there was not then in the country any person to take the lead. The lieutenant of Poitou, the duke of Berry, was at Montereau: the sénéchal of Poitou was just gone to Paris: the sénéchal of Saintonge was from home: the sénéchal of la Rochelle, sir Helion de Lignac, was at Bayonne, on the business of the duke of Berry, by which the country was left defenceless; for, from want of heads, their courage failed, and without that nothing effectual can be done.

The country was much alarmed for two causes: they had the English army and fleet on one side, and rumour had already informed them that Perrot le Béarnois was on his march, with more than fifteen hundred combatants, and had already entered Berry. They knew not what measures to adopt, except that of placing their wealth in safety; for it was said these two armies were to form a junction in Saintonge or Poitou, as was the intention of many.

There were indeed, at the time the English landed

landed at Marans, two gallant knights from Beauce in the town of la Rochelle, sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Taillepié, whom sir Helion de Lignac had placed there for its defence, when he set out to meet the duke of Berry at Paris. They had acquitted themselves ably; and on hearing that the armament under the earl of Arundel, which had been much talked of all the summer, had disembarked at Marans, they told the mayor and the principal citizens, for it is a populous place, that it would be right to beat up the english quarters, and added,—‘ We hear they have established themselves at Marans, and lay the surrounding country under contribution : we two are determined to bid them welcome, and they shall pay us, or we will repay them for what they have done. Great blame and reproaches will fall on us, to whom has been committed the government of this town and country, if we suffer them quietly to fix their quarters there. There is one thing much in our favour : they have not any horses, and are for the most part sailors, whilst we are all well mounted. We will send our cross-bows before us, to awaken them with a shower of arrows ; and, when they have made their attack, they will return homeward : the English will soon be on foot, and we will then charge them, and, by being on horseback, may do them great mischief.’

Those who heard this speech approved of it, and instantly assembled a body of twelve hundred cross bows and varlets, including all sorts. At the first dawn of day, they were all prepared, and
set

set out from la Rochelle at a good pace, to beat up the quarters of the English. During this, the horse got ready, and they were about three hundred, for many knights and squires had hastened to la Rochelle on the first intelligence of the English having landed at Marans. They left the town under the command of the two knights before named.

Had the English fortunately had any suspicion of this attack from the Rochellers, and had formed an ambuscade of two hundred archers and one hundred men at arms, not one would ever have returned to la Rochelle.

When the cross-bowmen arrived at the english quarters, it was very early morn ; and lucky it was for them that the guard, who had watched all night, was retired at sun-rise. The cross-bowmen began to shoot their bolts and arrows, which passed through the huts made of boughs and leaves, to the great surprise of the English who were asleep within side on straw. Many were wounded before they discovered they were attacked by the French. When they had made each about six shots, they retreated, according to their orders, and the men at arms advanced on horseback amidst the english huts.

Knights and squires speedily left their lodgings, and drew up together ; and the french captains, seeing they were preparing themselves in earnest to take the field, made after their cross-bows and infantry, who were hastening homeward, for they were much afraid of the english arrows. Thus hurrying,

hurry, and in dismay, were the Rochellers pursued, though the horse guarded the rear, to the town of la Rochelle. The earl of Arundel with upwards of four hundred men at arms was closely following, each man with his lance in his hand or on his shoulder. There was much crowding and difficulty to pass the gates; and sir Peter de Jouy and the lord Taillepié fought like valiant heroes in defending their men, keeping still on their rear, until they were come to the barriers. They were so hard pressed by the English, who were at their heels, they ran a great hazard of being slain or made prisoners; for the attack was the more vigorous against them as it was visible they were the commanders. Sir Peter de Jouy had his courser killed under him, and was with great difficulty dragged within the barriers. Sir Peter Taillepié was pierced through the thigh with a lance, and hit by an arrow on the helmet which entered his head, and his good horse fell dead under him at the gate.

There was much slaughter made on the Rochellers re-entering the town: upwards of forty dead and wounded lay at the gates. The inhabitants had mounted the battlements, and fired so many cannons and bombards that the English dared not approach nearer.

Thus ended this skirmish between the English and Rochellers. As it was near noon, the earl of Arundel had founded the retreat, when the men at arms and archers retired in handsome array to their quarters, where they disarmed and refreshed themselves,

themselves. They had wherewithal, having been amply provided with wines and meat from the surrounding country.

The english lords remained at Marans for fifteen days, waiting for deeds of arms and adventures ; but the Rochellers never ventured again to come near them, for they had found to their cost how valiantly they had defended themselves. Their two commanders were also wounded, which induced the others to wish for peace. The earl of Arundel, indeed, had sent four times parties to overrun the country round la Rochelle, and as far as Thouars, who did much mischief and terrified the inhabitants. They would have done more had they had horses ; but only a few were mounted on what they could find in the country, and these were scarce, for no sooner was the invasion known than all the inhabitants of the flat country fled with their stock and wealth to the great towns, and there shut themselves up.

When the English had remained near la Rochelle for fifteen days, without seeing any attempt made to oppose them, and the wind became fair, they embarked a great quantity of wine and fresh meat they had taken, and, having weighed anchor, put to sea. This same day, they met twelve ships from Bayonne, on their voyage to England with gascony wines and other merchandise. They sailed together for some time, being much rejoiced at this meeting, for they were well acquainted, and the Bayonnois gave the earl of Arundel two pipes of wine for the love they bore him. The Bayonnois then

then separated to continue their voyage, and the fleet kept cruising about in search of adventures.

While this armament was lying before Marans, Perrot le Béarnois and his companions had taken the field, and, having passed Limoufin, had entered Berry. He had with him four hundred spears and as many pillagers, and carried off in one day all the merchandise that was in the town of le Blanc* in Berry, and gained great wealth and many prisoners, for it was fair-day. He then marched to Selles†, which he plundered. Thus did Perrot le Béarnois maintain himself. He advanced far into the interior of the country, doing great mischief wherever he went, for none ventured to oppose him; and all parts were alarmed, even as far as the county of Blois and the Touraine, for they were uncertain whither these two armies would march next. Some imagined they would unite; but it was not so, for the earl of Arundel had embarked again, as I have mentioned, and Perrot with his companions returned to their strong holds.

When they had completely plundered the country, they thought it would be more safe for them to retire to their castles and secure their gains. They took, in consequence, the roads through Limoufin and Auvergne to their forts; and nothing more was done, as to deeds of arms, in these two

* Le Blanc,—in the generality of Bourges, 17 leagues from Poitiers, nine from Argenton.

† Selles, or Celles, three leagues from St. Aignan, ten from Blois.

provinces the remainder of the season, for the truce that had been agreed to last, until the ensuing month of May now took place.

The siege of Ventadour by sir William de Lignac, sir John Bonne-lance, and sir John le Bouteiller still continued; for Geoffry Tête-noir was so presumptuous as to pay not the least attention to the truce, nor to the besiegers, depending on the strength of his castle.

We will now, for variety, return to the affairs of Brabant and Gueldres.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE BRABANTERS PRESS GRAVE HARD BY THEIR SIEGE.—THE GUELDRIANS BURN A BRIDGE THE BRABANTERS HAD THROWN OVER THE MEUSE, TO ENTER GUELDRES.

YOU have before read how anxious the dukes of Brabant was to make war on the duke of Gueldres, and to besiege Grave. There was a great force of knights and squires from the principal towns before it, who declared their intentions were not to depart until they had gained possession of it; and the dukes, to show how interested she was in the matter, had come to reside at Bois le Duc, four leagues distant from it.

The besieging army was plentifully supplied with
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all things that came thither by sea, or down the Meuse, from the rich country of Brabant, so that the siege was long continued ; and the Brabanters had many large machines which threw into the town stones of such weight as to do much damage wherever they fell. In addition, they flung into the town all the dead carrion of the army to empoison the inhabitants by the stink. This was sorely felt by them, for the weather was hot, and the air too calm to carry off these villanous smells.

At times, many of the knights and squires of Brabant came to skirmish with the garrison at the barriers ; for the duke of Gueldres had placed within the town some gallant companions, who were not shy of shewing their courage, when occasions called for it, and the enemy advanced so near as the barriers. The siege lasted a long time ; and the duke of Gueldres had fixed his quarters at Nimeguen ; but he could neither raise the siege, nor offer combat to the Brabanters, for want of sufficient force. He had sent to England an account of his situation, and expected for certain he should have a reinforcement from thence, but he was disappointed ; for England at the time was in a very unsettled state, and new ministers had been forced on the king by his uncles and the archbishop of Canterbury. A parliament was indeed holden, about St. John Baptist's day, at the duke's request, to consider whether a body of men at arms and archers should be sent to assist the duke of Gueldres, according to treaty. Having considered the matter fully, they would not agree to it ; for it was

was strongly rumoured; that the king of France was assembling a large army, and it was doubtful whither he would march it, and the English imagined it was intended to attack Calais. They were also uneasy respecting the Scots on the borders, and were fearful of sending more forces out of the kingdom, as a large body of men at arms and archers were at sea, under the earl of Arundel, lest the country might be defenceless. When the council was considering the affairs of Gueldres, some of the lords said,—‘Let the duke of Gueldres take care of himself: he is valorous enough, and in his own country, and will withstand all the Brabanters can do against him: if any thing worse befall him, he shall have assistance. He has again the Germans, his neighbours, on his side, who formerly joined him against France.’

Such was the state of affairs in England; but those in Grave suffered much from the siege. During the time it lasted, the Brabanters resolved to throw a wooden bridge over the Meuse, that they might have an entrance into Gueldreland, overrun that country, and, by investing the town of Grave on all sides, prevent any provision from entering it; for they were numerous enough to surround it, could they gain a passage over the river. As they finished the different parts of this bridge, they joined and placed them in their proper situations, and had made such advances, that it was within the length of a lance of the opposite shore.

You may suppose that the duke was no way ignorant of what they were about, but he gave not any

any interruption to their building the bridge, until it was nearly completed. He then advanced with cannons and other artillery, and attacked it so roughly, that it was set on fire and destroyed. Thus did the Brabanters, to their great vexation, lose all the effect of their labour. They, upon this, called a council to determine how to act.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE BRABANTERS, HAVING PASSED THROUGH RAVESTEIN*, ENTER GUELDTRELAND, AND ARE DEFEATED BY THE DUKE OF GUELDTRES.—THE SIEGE OF GRAVE IS RAISED IN CONSEQUENCE.

THREE short leagues from Grave lies the town of Ravestein, belonging to the lord de Bourne, who is a vassal to Brabant. At the council I mentioned, the lord de Bourne was solicited by the ministers of the dukes of Brabant, and by the knights and squires, to open his town of Ravestein for them to gain an entrance into Gueldreland,

* Ravestein,—a town of the Netherlands in dutch Brabant, and capital of a county of the same name, with an ancient and strong castle. It belongs to the elector Palatine; but the Dutch have a right to put a garrison there. It is situated on the Meuse, on the confines of Gueldreland, ten miles south-west of Nimeguen.—BROOKES' GAZETTEER.

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and, with part of their army, overrun it : he complied with their request.

The duke of Gueldres, I know not whether by spies or otherwise, gained information that the Brabanters intended entering his territories by the bridge of Ravestein, through the compliance of the lord de Bourne. He was much cast down when he first learnt this, as his force was not near sufficient to meet that of Brabant, which consisted of more than forty thousand men. He formed various plans how to act, and at last determined that, if the Brabanters entered his country, he would retaliate by the bridge of Grave, for he was resolved not to be shut up in any town. He consulted the lord de Ghesme, a great baron in Gueldreland, and his principal adviser, who would not at first agree to his taking the field, on account of the smallness of his numbers. ‘And what must I do then?’ said the duke. ‘Would you have me shut myself up in one of my towns, while they are plundering and burning my country? This would be too great a loss. I vow to God and our Lady,’ added the duke, ‘that I will take the field to meet my enemies, and follow the best measures I can devise that the event may be favourable.’

This plan he executed ; and, on the morrow, after he had paid his devotions in the church, and made his offering at the altar of the virgin, he drank some wine, and, mounting his horse, set out from Nimeguen. He was accompanied by only three hundred spears, or indeed less, and they made straight for the place where they supposed they

should find their enemies. You may from this judge of the duke's courage, although some blamed him.

When they were without the town of Nimeguen, like a valiant knight, he shouted out,— ‘Forward, forward ! let us, in the name of God and St. George, hasten to meet our enemy ; for I had rather perish with honour in the field than die dishonourably shut up in a town.’ With him were the lord de Ghesme, who commanded the expedition, and a valiant and prudent knight, called the heir of Hanseberth, the lord de Hucklelem, sir Ostez, lord of Naspre, and several other knights and squires of good courage.

The same day on which the duke of Gueldres had taken the field, the sénéchal of Brabant had done the same at a very early hour of the morning, with a large body of knights and squires from Brabant, who were eager to enter Gueldreland, and gain there both honour and profit. Upwards of ten thousand men crossed the bridge of Ravestein ; and the sénéchal, the lord de Ligniere, the lord de Bourgueval, the lord de Gence and the rest, were much pleased at having crossed the Meuse, and said among themselves, they would that day ride as far as Nimeguen, and burn its mills, suburbs, and the villages that were round about ; but they had shortly other news brought them by their scouts, whom they had sent forward to examine the country.

The duke of Gueldres was informed, that his enemies, to the amount of ten thousand, were abroad,
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and had passed the Meuse at the bridge at Ravestein. The duke halted, on hearing this, to consider again their best mode of proceeding, for some of his companions were alarmed at the smallness of their numbers in comparison with the enemy, who were at least thirty or forty for one. They said,—‘How is it possible for three or four hundred lances to oppose ten or twelve thousand? it is not in our power to overthrow them, but they may very easily slay us.’ Several assembled round the duke, and advised him to retreat to Grave; but he replied, ‘he would never do so, nor confine himself in any town, but march to meet his enemies, for his courage told him he should defeat them; and he preferred dying with honour to living in disgrace. We will overthrow, said he, our enemies, and gain this day infinite honour and wealth.’ He then, after a short pause, added in a loud voice, ‘Forward, forward! those who love me will follow me.’

This speech of the duke greatly encouraged his men, more especially those who had heard the whole; and they all shewed a great earnestness to combat their enemies, who were fast approaching. They tightened their armours, lowered the visors of their helmets, and re-girthed their saddles, and marched slowly in handsome array, that their horses might be fresh for the charge. Some new knights were made, and they marched in this order towards Ravestein.

The Brabanters, with great numbers of common people, had already crossed the river, when news was brought to the sénéchal and his knights that

the duke of Gueldres had taken the field, and was so near that they must speedily see him. They were much surprised at this intelligence, and concluded that the duke must at least have had with him six times more men than he had.

They instantly halted, and would have drawn themselves up in array, but had not time; for the duke of Gueldres appeared with his company full gallop, with spears in their rests, and shouting their cry, 'Our Lady for Gueldres!' A squire of Gueldreland, called Hermaut de Morbec, deserves particular attention, from the great desire he had to exalt his name. He left the ranks of the battalion, and, spurring his horse, was the first to assault the enemy, and at this gallant tilt unhorsed the man he struck. I know not if he were raised from the ground, for the crowd was so great, that when any were dismounted, unless instantly relieved, they ran great risk of being crushed to death. More than six score Brabanters were unhorsed at this first charge. Great confusion and dismay, with but a poor defence, reigned among them. They were so suddenly attacked, (which is the way enemies should be by those who wish to conquer them,) that although they were so numerous, and had many great lords, they were dispersed: they could never form any array, nor could the lords rally their men, nor these last join their lords. Those in the rear, hearing the noise, and seeing the clouds of dust, thought their men must have been discomfited, and that the enemy were coming to them, so that they became panic-struck, and, turning about, fled for
Ravestein

Ravestein or the Meuse. Their fright was so great, they rushed into the river, whether on horseback or on foot, without founding the bottom or knowing if it were fordable, for they imagined the enemy was at their heels. By this self-defeat, upwards of twelve hundred perished in the river Meuse; for they leaped one on the other, without any distinction, like wild beasts.

Many great lords and barons of Brabant (whose names I shall not disclose, to save them and their heirs from the disgrace that would attach to them) most shamefully fled from the field, and sought their safety, not by the river nor by Ravestein, but by other roads that carried them to a distance from their enemies.

This unfortunate event to the chivalry of Brabant happened between Grave and Ravestein. Great numbers were slain. All who could surrender did so instantly; and the Germans took them at ransom very readily, for the great profit they expected to make from them. Those who had fled to Grave gave the alarm to the besieging army; for they arrived out of breath, and so harassed that they could scarcely say to them, 'Retire as fast as you can, for we have been totally defeated, and nothing can save you.' When those in camp saw their appearance and heard their report, they were so frightened that they would not stay to pack up any thing, nor even take down their tents and pavilions, but set off without bidding adieu, and left every thing behind them. They were seized with such a panic as neither to take victual nor carriage;
but

but such as had horses leaped on them, and fled for safety to Bois le Duc, Houdan, Mont St. Gervais, Gertruydenberg or Dordrecht. Their only care was to save themselves, and fly from their enemies. Had the garrison of Grave known of this defeat of the Brabanters, they would have greatly gained by it, and killed or brought back many of the runaways. They were not made acquainted with it until late, when they sallied forth, and took possession of tents, pavilions, and warlike engines the Brabanters in their fright had left behind, which they brought at their leisure into Grave, for there were none to oppose them.

Thus was the siege of Grave broken up, to the great loss of the Brabanters. News was spread far and near, how a handful of men had overthrown forty thousand and raised the siege of Grave. The lord de Bourgueval and the lord de Linieres were made prisoners, with others to the amount of seventeen banners. These and the pennons you will find hung up before the image of our Lady at Nimeguen, that the perpetual remembrance of this victory may be kept up.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE BRABANTERS, RETURNS TO NIMEGUEN.— ON THE NEWS OF THIS VICTORY, THE KING AND COUNCIL OF FRANCE SEND AMBASSADORS TO THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY, THE MORE SECURELY TO CARRY ON THEIR WAR AGAINST GUELDRELAND.

SCARCELY can I for shame perpetuate the disgraceful defeat of the Brabanters; but, as I have promised at the commencement of this history to insert nothing but what was strictly true, I must detail the unfortunate consequences of this battle. The young duke of Gueldres gained this renowned victory about Magdalen-tide, in the month of July 1388.

When the defeat and pursuit were over, which took up about two hours time, and the field cleared, the Gueldrians collected together, and greatly rejoiced, as indeed they had cause, at the fortunate success of the day, for they had made many more prisoners than they were in number themselves. The heralds were ordered by them to examine the dead, and report who had been slain. Among them was the young and handsome son of the count de Namur (who was styled the Vaissier de Celles, lord de Balastre), which, when told to the duke, greatly afflicted him; and he bitterly lamented his loss.

lofs, for he was of a most amiable character, and had been the preceding year his companion at arms in Prussia.

A council was held in the field, whether or not to retire to Grave and carry their prisoners thither ; but the duke opposed it, saying,—‘ I made a vow to our Lady of Nimeguen when I left that town, and which I again renewed before we began the combat : in obedience to which, I order, that we gaily return to Nimeguen, and offer our thanksgivings to the holy Virgin, who has assisted us in our victory.’

This command was obeyed ; for, as the duke had given it, no one made any objection ; and they set out, on their return towards Nimeguen, full gallop. It was two long leagues from the field of battle, but they were soon there.

On this fortunate news being told in that town, great rejoicings were made by both sexes ; and the clergy went out in procession to meet the duke, and received him with acclamations. The duke did not turn to the right nor left, but rode with his knights straight to the church where the image of our Lady was, and in which he had great faith. When he had entered her chapel, he disarmed himself of every thing to his doublet, and offered up his armour on the altar, in honour of our Lady, returning thanksgivings for the victory he had gained over his enemies.

The banners and pennons of the enemy were all hung up in this chapel, but I know not if they be still there : the duke retired to his hôtel, and his knights.

knights to their homes, to pay attention to themselves and their prisoners, from whom they expected great ransoms. When the report of this victory over the Brabanters was made public, the duke of Gueldres was more feared and honoured than before.

The duchess of Brabant, who had resided at Bois le Duc, was much vexed, as indeed she had reason, at this unfortunate turn in her affairs, and that the siege of Grave was raised. She ordered a strong garrison into Bois le Duc to guard the frontiers, and then returned through Champagne to Brussels. She wrote frequently to the duke of Burgundy the state of things, and eagerly pressed him to assist her in the recovery of her losses; for all her hopes were in him.

You may suppose, the news of this victory was instantly known in France, particularly at the court of the king; but they were little surprised at it, rather holding it cheap, imagining, when the king marched thither, they should make themselves ample amends.

Orders were sent to sir William de la Trimouille and to sir Gervais de Merande, who had been placed by the duke of Burgundy in the three castles on the Meuse, to guard well that frontier, and to make no sallies where there should be any risk of loss; for that they would shortly hear from the king, who was preparing to visit this duke of Gueldres and his country in person.

Sir William had been greatly hurt at the late defeat of his friends, but the intelligence from
France

France raised his spirits, and he acted conformably to the orders he had received.

Let us return to what was passing in France. The king's ardour for the invasion of Gueldreland was no way abated : he was anxious to undertake it at all events, for the challenge of the duke had mightily enraged him ; and he declared that, cost what it would, he would have ample reparation, or his territories, with those of his father, the duke of Juliers, should be despoiled and burnt. Summonses were sent to all the dukes, counts, knights, barons and men at arms, of France, to provide themselves with sufficient purveyances for a long journey ; and one of the marshals of France, sir Louis de Sancerre, was ordered to remain to guard the kingdom, from beyond the river Dordogne to the sea ; for in Languedoc, and in the country between the Garonne and the Loire, the truce had been accepted : and the other marshal, the lord de Blainville, was to accompany the king.

The different lords made such immense provision of stores of all kinds, it was wonderful to think of, more especially in wines. All those in Champagne were bespoken for the king, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Touraine and Bourbon : carriages also, of every description, in those parts, were likewise retained for them : indeed, the preparations for this expedition were prodigious.

The duke of Brittany was still at Paris, and could not obtain any decision respecting his affairs, for the king resided chiefly at Montereau sur Yonne. He was, however, well entertained with feasts and
fair

fair words. The nobles begged of him to have patience, for he would very shortly have his business finished; but that the king was so impatient to begin his march to Germany, he attended to nothing else. The duke was forced to make the best he could of it, perceiving he could not amend it, and, since he had come to Paris, was resolved not to depart but with the good will of the king, although his stay was attended with vast expenses.

When it was known for certain that the expedition to Gueldreland was to take place, and that a tax had been ordered throughout France for the payment of the knights and men at arms, many of the wisest in the country, whether of the council or not, said that it was ill advised to encourage a king of France to march such a distance in search of his enemies, and that the kingdom might suffer from it, (for the king was young, and very popular with his subjects), and that it would have been fully sufficient for one of the king's uncles, or both of them, with the constable of France, to have gone with six or seven thousand lances, without carrying the person of the king thither.

The king's uncles were of a similar opinion: they most prudently remonstrated with him on the impropriety of his marching with his army, and were urging many strong reasons against it, when he flew into a rage, and shortly interrupted them, by saying,—‘If you go thither without me, it will be contrary to my will and pleasure; but I can assure you, you shall not receive one penny, for otherwise I cannot restrain you.’

When

When the dukes of Berry and Burgundy heard this answer, they saw he was determined upon going, and replied,—‘God be with you: you shall go then; and we will no more think of undertaking it without your company.’

These lords and the council then deliberated on an affair of some consequence to this intended war. There had been a treaty for a long time in force, between the king of France and the emperor of Germany, which stipulated, that neither of them were to enter the territories of the other with an armed force; that is to say, that the king of France and the emperor could not make war on each other without incurring a heavy penalty, and the sentence of the pope, who had solemnly sworn, at his coronation, to maintain these two kingdoms in peace. It was therefore resolved, in case the king persisted in his intention of invading Gueldreland, which was a dependance on the empire, to make the emperor fully acquainted with the duke of Gueldres’ rash conduct, and lay before him the insolent challenge he had sent the king of France, who, to make him sensible of his folly, was preparing to march an army into Germany, not any way hostile to the emperor or to his territories, but solely against this duke of Gueldres, and to attack him wherever he should find him.

Sir Guy de Honcourt, a valiant knight, and sir Yves d’Orient, one of the judges in parliament, were appointed ambassadors to carry this message to the emperor. When they had received their instructions and made their preparations, they took leave

leave of the king and his uncles, and rode for Châlons in Champagne, with an attendance suitable to their rank, and the purpose they were going on. They met the lord de Coucy at Châlons, retaining knights and men at arms from Bar, Lorraine and Champagne for this expedition, of which he was to command the van-guard. He entertained the ambassadors one day splendidly at dinner, and on the morrow they continued the road to Sainte Menchould, and thence towards Luxembourg, to gain intelligence where the emperor was.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL PERMIT THE DUKE OF BRITTANY TO RETURN HOME.—
THE STATES OF BRABANT SEND EXCUSES TO THE KING OF FRANCE, FOR NOT ALLOWING HIS ARMY TO PASS THROUGH THEIR COUNTRY.—
THE SUCCESS OF THE AMBASSADORS WITH THE EMPEROR.

ALTHOUGH ambassadors had been sent to the emperor, the French did no way relax in their warlike preparations. It was signified to all to assemble in readiness for the field in or near the country of Champagne by the middle of the ensuing August; since the king had then determined

to

to begin his march, whether or not he should receive answers, through sir Guy de Honcourt and master Yves d'Orient, from the emperor of Germany.

The king and his uncles thinking it was now time to dismiss the duke of Brittany, he was summoned to Montereau, where the king most kindly received him, as did the dukes of Burgundy and Touraine. The duke of Berry was at the time in Berry making his preparations and levies of men at arms, having fixed on Poitou for the place of assembly, before they began their march. The king and the duke of Burgundy, as I have said, treated the duke of Brittany in the most friendly manner. He had before surrendered the castles and town of Jugon to the officers of the constable, but made great difficulty to pay back the hundred thousand francs, which had been expended in the provisioning his castles, and in retaining men at arms the whole of last winter, thinking a war would be declared against him; but he was so fairly spoken to, that he promised the king and the duke of Burgundy to repay this sum, of one hundred thousand francs, in the course of five years, by yearly payments of twenty thousand francs. The duke, after this, took leave of the king, who made him very handsome presents of jewels, and went back to Paris. The duke of Burgundy, before his departure, gave to him and his knights a magnificent entertainment in his hôtel, called the hôtel d'Artois, when they separated on the most friendly terms.

The

The duke of Brittany made no long stay after this at Paris; but having arranged his affairs, and had his expenses paid by his officers, he set out, taking the road to Estampes, travelled through Beauce to Beaugency on the Loire, with a numerous body of attendants riding before him. From Beaugency his attendants continued their road through the country of Blois, Touraine, Maine and Anjou; but the duke had his vessels waiting for him at Beaugency, and embarking on board a handsome yacht, with the lords de Montfort and de Malestroit, sailed down the Loire, passing under the bridge at Blois, and not stopping until he came to Nantes, when he was in his own country.

I will now leave the duke of Brittany, who strictly kept the engagements he had entered into with the king of France and his uncles, and has never since done any thing worthy of being remembered in this history, nor do I know if he ever will. If he should, I will relate it, according to the manner it shall be told me.

The king of France was busily employed in making his preparations to invade Gueldreland. The lord de Coucy, on his return to Montereau, informed the king and his uncles, that all the chivalry of Bar, Lorraine, Burgundy, and as far as the Rhine, were ready and willing to attend them, in their expedition to Germany. The king was much pleased on hearing this, and said, that 'if it pleased God, he would this year pay a visit to his cousins of Gueldres and Juliers.' A council was held

held on the most convenient line of march, when some said, that the shortest way would be through Tiérache*, along the frontiers of Hainault and Liege, and passing through Brabant into Gueldres; but others proposed crossing the Meuse at or near Utrecht, and, having passed that river, to enter Juliers, and march thence into Gueldreland. Upon this, the king and council wrote to the dukes and states of Brabant, to signify that the king and his army intended marching through their country.—The dukes would have readily consented; but the states refused the passage, saying the country would suffer too much from it. The principal towns and nobles were all of this opinion, and told the dukes, that if she allowed the French to enter their country, they would never bear arms for her against Gueldres, but would shut themselves up in their castles, and defend all the entrances to the country, for they should have more damage done to themselves and lands by such passengers than if their enemy were in the country.

The dukes, finding so strong an opposition to allowing a passage to the French, dissembled her real thoughts, and calling to her sir John Opem, master John Grave and master Nicholas de la Monnoye, charged them to set out instantly for France, and make excuses for the states of Brabant, to the king and the duke of Burgundy, for their refusal

* Tiérache, a fertile country in Picardy, watered by the Oise and Seine, to the west of Champagne and the south of Hainault.

to allow the french army to pass through Brabant, fearful lest the country would be too severely oppressed; and to entreat them, for the love of God, not to be dissatisfied with her, as she had done every thing in her power to obtain their consent.

These envoys left Brussels, and arrived at Montereau sur Yonne, where they found the king and his uncles, whose whole conversation, day and night, was on the expedition to Gueldreland.— They first waited on the duke of Burgundy, to whom they gave their letters, and explained so well the reasons of the states' refusal that he was contented, and, at the prayer of his aunt, promised to mediate between them and the king.

The lord de Coucy was likewise of very great service to them, so that the first plan of passing through Brabant was given up, and the excuses from the duchess and her states were accepted. It was then determined, as more honourable for the king and his allies, to march straight through his kingdom. A council was held on the choice of those who were to form the vanguard; and two thousand five hundred pioneers were appointed to clear away all trees and hedge-rows, and to make smooth the roads. The army had by their means a most excellent road through France to the forest of Ardennes; but there it failed them, for rocks, forests and various obstacles opposed their passage. The lord de Coucy, who had the command of the vanguard, consisting of one thousand lances, sent forward persons to examine which would be the safest road for the king and the baggage to march

(for there were upwards of twelve thousand carriages, without counting baggage horses), to lay open the forest, and make roads where no traveller had ever before passed. Every one was eager to be thus employed, more particularly those who were near the king's person; for he was never so popular at any time as he was now in Flanders, nor were his subjects ever so united to assist him as in this expedition against Gueldres.

While this was passing, the king sent the lord de Coucy to Avignon, to the person who styled himself pope Clement, I know not on what business; and the viscount de Meaux, sir John de Roye and the lord de la Bonne, commanded in his absence.

We will now say something of the ambassadors who had been sent to the emperor of Germany. They continued their journey until they arrived at Convalence*, where the emperor resided. After dismounting at their hôtel, they made themselves ready to wait on him, who had before heard of their coming, and was very impatient to know the cause of it. Having assembled his council, the ambassadors were introduced to the presence of the emperor, whom they saluted most reverently, and gave him their credential letters from the king of France. After he had attentively perused them, he eyed sir Guy de Honcourt, and said, 'Guy, tell us, in the name of God, what you are charged with.' The knight spoke long and ably in explain-

* Convalence. Q. Constance.

ing to the emperor and his council the reasons why the king of France was about to enter the german territory with a large army, not with the smallest intent to injure that or any other part of the territories belonging to the emperor, but against a personal enemy. He then named him, and added,— ‘ The duke of Gueldres has thought proper to send the king of France a most insolent challenge, couched in outrageous language, not usual in such cases, for which the king and his council have determined to punish him. The king, therefore, entreats you, dear sire, from your connections with him by blood, that you will not abet this duke in his presumptuous conduct, but keep those treaties of alliance which have formerly been made between you and France, as he on his part is resolved to abide by them.’

The emperor, in reply, said,— ‘ Sir Guy, we have some time been informed, that our cousin the king of France has been collecting a large body of men at arms, at a vast expense, when it was unnecessary for him to give himself so much trouble for so small an object; for, had he made his complaints to me, I would have forced the duke of Gueldres to hear reason without the great expense he has been at.’ ‘ Sire,’ answered sir Guy, ‘ you are very kind in thus expressing yourself; but our lord, the king of France, values neither expense nor trouble wherever his honour is concerned; and his council are solely anxious that you should not be dissatisfied with him, for he is determined in no way to infringe the treaties that exist between France and

Germany: on the contrary, to strengthen them as much as possible, and for this have sir Yves d'Orient and myself been sent hither.' 'We are by no means,' said the emperor, 'dissatisfied with what is doing in France, and thank my cousin for the information he sends me: let him come, in God's name, for I do not intend to move.'

The ambassadors were well pleased with this reply, and considered the matter as concluded to their wish. They requested answers to the letters they had brought, which were cheerfully promised. They dined that day in the emperor's palace, and by his orders were well feasted. In the evening they retired to their lodgings, and managed things so well that the business was finished to their satisfaction. Having received their letters in reply to those they had brought, they took leave of the emperor, and returned by the way they had come to the king of France; of whom we will now speak.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE COUNT DE BLOIS SENDS TWO HUNDRED LANCES TO SERVE THE KING IN HIS EXPEDITION TO GUELDRES.—THE AMBASSADORS BRING FAVOURABLE ANSWERS FROM THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—THE KING OF FRANCE CONTINUES HIS MARCH TOWARD THE FOREST OF ARDENNES.—SIR HELION DE LIGNAC MAKES HIS REPORT TO THE DUKE OF BERRY, TOUCHING HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

THE great lords and barons of France were busily employed in making their preparations for the expedition to Gueldres; and those from the more distant parts of the kingdom, in Auvergne, Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, and other provinces, had already begun their march towards Champagne. The greater numbers came from Picardy, Burgundy, Champagne, Bar, and Lorraine, because they were nearer the place of assembly. The villages in France were not so harshly treated as usual; for the king had forbidden, under pain of death, that any thing should be taken from them without payment.

Notwithstanding this order was made very public,

lic, the men at arms on their march did much mischief; for, though the punishment was so heavy, they could not abstain from what they had been accustomed to. They were indeed very badly paid, and consequently thought they had a right to provide for themselves. This was the excuse they made whenever they were reprimanded by their captain or marshal.

The count de Blois was summoned, and he returned for answer, he would send two hundred chosen lances, well equipped and paid. I know not how he was dealt withal, but he sent two hundred knights and squires to serve the king, from his county of Blois, under the command of the lord de Vienne, sir William de Saint Martin, sir William de Chaumont and the lord de Montigny, who marched at their leisure towards Champagne, whither they had been ordered.

The king of France left Montereau sur Yonne, and took the road for Châlons in Champagne, without the duke of Berry joining him. He was still in Berry, waiting the return of sir Helion de Lignac, with answers from the duke of Lancaster, respecting his marriage with his daughter. He however received none; for the duke of Lancaster detained him at Bayonne, dissembling his opinion between him and the ambassadors from Castille; but he was more inclined, as well as the duchess, to close with the last; yet, before them, he shewed the utmost attentions to sir Helion, to make them the more eager to finish the business.

The castilian ambassadors laboured hard to bring
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the marriage to a conclusion. They were four in number, don Fernando de Léon, doctor in divinity and confessor to the king, the bishop of Segovia, don Pedro Godelopie and don Diego Loup, who were continually going or returning from one party to the other. The duke, however, gave them to understand, that he would prefer an union with Castille to one with France, provided they would agree to his terms. He demanded payment of six hundred thousand francs within three years, twelve thousand francs annually for his and the duchess's lives, and two thousand more for the duchess's household yearly*.

When it was known that the king had left Montereau for Châlons, all those who had remained at home hastened their march to join him. Thither came the duke of Berry, whose quarters were at Espinay, and the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Sancerre, the count de St. Pol, the count de Ton-

* Collins, in his life of John of Gaunt, mentions the following terms as agreed on by the duke of Lancaster and king of Castille.

1mo, That Henry of Castille, on his marriage with the lady Constance, should bear the title of prince of Asturias.

2do, That the kingdom of Castille, &c. revert to them after the death of the present king, and to their heirs. In default of heirs, to Edmund of York, who had married don Pedro's second daughter.

3tio, That the king of Castille should pay the duke of Lancaster 200,000*l.* towards the charges of his expedition, and 10,000*l.* per annum during his and the duchess's lives.

nerre.

nerre. Near the king's person were the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Lorraine, the duke of Tournaine, the constable of France, sir John de Vienne, sir Guy de la Trimouille, sir Barrois des Barres and sir John de Bueil.

The whole country round Rheims and Châlons, to the extent of twelve leagues, was destroyed by these men at arms, who were dispersed over it, from Sainte Menehould to Monstier in Bar, to Chaumont in Bassigni*, to Vitry en Pertois†, and the whole of the bishopricks of Troyes and Langres. The lord de Coucy was not yet returned from his journey to Avignon.

About this time, sir Guy de Honcourt and sir Yves d'Orient came back from their embassy to the emperor, and met the king at Châlons. The king and his nobles were rejoiced at their arrival, and inquired the news. They told them all that had passed; that the emperor had very kindly received them and handsomely entertained them; and sir Guy added,—‘Sire, and you my lords, when the emperor and his council had read your letters and the copy of the duke of Gueldres’ challenge, they were very indignant at his presumption, and are desirous, from what we could learn, that he should be punished for his insolence: nor will the emperor make any opposition to your intended war,

* Bassigni, a small country on the confines of Champagne and Lorraine: Chaumont is the capital.

† Vitry en Pertois, a small town in Champagne, near Vitry le François.

which

which he seems indeed much to approve of, but keep strictly to all the articles of the treaties entered into between him and France, so that all your doubts concerning his conduct may be dissipated.'

The king of France and his council were well satisfied on hearing this, although many said, that whether the emperor would or not, they were in sufficient numbers to go whither they pleased without fearing any one.

The king gave orders for the march of the army, and he left Châlons for Grand Pré*, where he remained for three days. He could not make any long marches from the great concourse of men that were in his front, in his rear, and on all sides; and he was forced to move gently on account of his great train of baggage and purveyances, which occupied a length of fourteen country leagues, and was daily increasing.

The count de Grand Pré received the king in his town with every respect, and ordered all things so much to the king's pleasure, that he expressed his satisfaction to the count, who was attached to the van division. The duke of Lorraine and sir Henry de Bar here joined the king with a handsome company of men at arms. The duke of Lorraine was ordered to the division of his son-in-

* Grand Pré, a town in Champagne, election of Sainte Menehould.

law, the lord de Coucy, but fir Henry de Bar remained near the king.

The pioneers had been continually employed in clearing the forest of Ardennes, by felling of timber, and making roads where none had ever been before. They had much difficulty in the filling up of valleys and forming a tolerable road for the carriages to pass, and there were upwards of three thousand workmen who laboured at nothing else, from Vierton to Neufchâtel in the Ardennes.

The duchess of Brabant was exceedingly pleased when she heard for certain that the king of France was on his march through the Ardennes, and concluded she should now have her revenge on the duke of Gueldres, and that the king of France would make both him and his father, the duke of Juliers, repent of their conduct, which had given her many mortifications. She set out in handsome array from Brussels, accompanied by the lord de Samines in the Ardennes, the lord de Bocelars, the lord de Broquehort and several others, for Luxembourg, to receive the king, and have some conversation with him. She crossed the Meuse by the bridge at Huy*, and went to Bastoigne, where she halted; for the king was to pass there, or very near it, which he did. When he set out from Grand Pré, he crossed the Meuse at Morfay†, with his

* Huy, a town in the bishoprick of Liege, capital of the Condrotz, on the confluence of the small river Huy and the Meuse.

† Morfay. Q. Mouzon.

whole army ; but his marches were very short, for the reasons I have before given.

News was brought to the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, for such intelligence is soon spread abroad, that the king of France was on his march to visit them, with an army of one hundred thousand men ; and that he had never collected so large a body, except when he marched to Bourbourg, imagining the English to be in greater force than he found them.

The duke of Juliers began to be greatly alarmed ; but his son, the duke of Gueldres, made light of it, saying,—‘ Let them come : the greater the number, the sooner will they be worn down, their baggage destroyed, and their purveyances ruined. Winter is coming on, and my country is a strong one : they will not easily enter it, and, when they make the attempt, shall be driven back with other sounds than trumpets. They must always keep together, which will be impossible, if they mean to invade my territory ; and, if they separate, my people will take them whether they will or no.—However, our cousin of France shews good courage ; and I give him credit for doing what I would attempt if in his place.’ Such were the conversations the duke of Gueldres held with his knights on this subject ; but the duke of Juliers was, on the contrary, quite disconsolate ; for he saw, if the French were determined on it, his country must be ruined and burnt. He sent for his brother, the archbishop of Cologne, and his cousin, sir Arnould de Hornes, bishop of Liege, to consult with them
on

on the occasion, and see if there were any probable remedy to prevent his lands being despoiled.

These two prelates gave him the best advice in their power, and recommended him to humble himself before the king of France and his uncles, and submit to their will. The duke having answered, that he would most cheerfully do so, the bishop of Utrecht, who was likewise present, with the assent of the archbishop, advised the bishop of Liege to set out with his array to meet the king of France, and treat with him on this subject.

The king of France continued his march, but only two, three or four leagues a day, and sometimes not one, from the great baggage, which was too large by far, that accompanied him. Sir William de Lignac, and his brother sir Helion, joined the king between Mouzon and Nôtre Dame d'Amot*, where the duke of Berry, with his body of five hundred spears, was quartered. Sir William had come from the siege of Ventadour by orders of the duke of Berry, as had sir John Bonne-lance by similar ones from the duke of Bourbon. They had left their army under the command of sir John Bouteiller and sir Lewis d'Ambiere, as they were desirous of attending the king in this expedition.—Sir Helion had come from Bayonne, where he had been treating, as you have heard, with the duke of Lancaster for the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Berry.

* Amot. Q. Arlon.

The duke of Berry made him good cheer, and inquired after his success. Sir Helion related every thing that had passed, and told him the king of Castille was earnestly negotiating a peace with the duke of Lancaster by the union of his son, the prince of Galicia, with his daughter. The duke was very pensive on hearing this, and, after a pause, said,—‘ Sir Helion, you will return to France; and I will send you once more, accompanied by the bishop of Poitiers, for the duke of Lancaster’s decisive answer; but at this moment we have enough on our hands.

This same week, the lord de Coucy returned from Avignon to the king in the Ardennes, to the great joy of the whole army.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE PRINCIPAL BARONS OF SCOTLAND ASSEMBLE
IN ARMS TO MAKE WAR ON ENGLAND.—THEY
LEARN FROM A SPY WHOM THEY TAKE PRISONER
THAT THE ENGLISH ARE ACQUAINTED WITH
THEIR INTENTIONS.

I HAVE before related in this history the troubles king Richard of England had suffered from his quarrels with his uncles, urged on by the wicked counsel of the duke of Ireland, which had
caused

caused several knights to lose their heads, and the archbishop of York nearly to be deprived of his benefice. By the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury and the king's new council, the lord Neville, who had commanded the defence of the frontiers of Northumberland for five years against the Scots, was dismissed: for this service he had been paid, by the counties of Northumberland and Durham, the sum of sixteen thousand francs annually.

Sir Henry Percy being appointed in his stead to this command, with a salary of eleven thousand francs yearly, was a circumstance which created much animosity and hatred between the Percies and Nevilles, who were neighbours and had been friends. The barons and knights of Scotland, knowing of this, determined on an inroad to England, as the opportunity was favourable, now the English were quarrelling among themselves, to make some return for the many insults they had suffered from them.

In order that their intentions might not be known, they appointed a feast to be holden at Aberdeen, on the borders of the Highlands. The greater part of the barons attended; and it was then resolved, that on the middle of August of the year 1388, they would assemble all their forces at a castle called Jedworth, situated amidst deep forests and on the borders of Cumberland. Having arranged every thing concerning this business, they separated, but never mentioned one word of their intentions

tentions to the king; for they said among themselves, he knew nothing about war.

On the appointed day, earl James Douglas first arrived at Jedworth: then came John earl of Moray, the earl of March and Dunbar, sir William de Fif, Stephen earl of Menteith*, William earl of Mar, sir Archibald Douglas, sir Robert Avercequi, sir Marc Ordrennen, sir William and sir James Lindsay, sir Thomas Bery, sir Alexander Lindsay, the lord de Sechin, sir John de Sobelans, sir Patrick Dunbar, sir John Sinclair, sir Patrick Sohopbone, sir John Montgomery, son to the lord of that name, and his two other sons; sir John Malisnel, sir Adam de Gladivin, sir William de Redurin, sir William Stanac, sir John de Halpebretton, sir Alidier and sir Robert Landre, sir Stephen Frazer, sir Alexander and sir John Ramsay, sir William de Morbereth, sir Maubert Here, sir William de Waleram, sir John Amoustan, David Fillion, Robert Colennie, with numbers of other knights and squires of Scotland†.

There had not been seen, for sixty years, so nu-

* Earl of Menteith.—‘At the time of this battle (of Otterbourne), the earldom of Menteith was possessed by Robert Stewart, earl of Fife, third son of king Robert II. who, according to Buchanan, commanded the Scots that entered by Carlisle. But our minstrel had probably an eye to the family of Graham, who had this earldom when the battle was written.’

Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.

† For an explanation of these names, see page 271.

merous an assembly: they amounted to twelve hundred spears and forty thousand other men and archers. With the use of the bow the Scots are little acquainted; but they sling their axes over their shoulders, and, when engaged in battle, give deadly blows with them.

These lords were well pleased on meeting each other, and declared they would never return to their homes without having made an inroad on England, and to such an effect that it should be remembered for twenty years to come. The more completely to combine their plans, they fixed another meeting to be held at a church in the forest of Jedworth, called Zedon*, before they began their march to England.

Intelligence was carried to the earl of Northumberland (for every thing is known to those who are diligent in their inquiries), to his children, to the sénéchal of York and to sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, of the great feast that was to be kept at Aberdeen. To learn what was done at it, these lords sent thither heralds and minstrels. The scots barons could not transact their business so secretly but it was known to these minstrels, that there was to be a grand assembly of men at arms in the forest of Jedworth. They observed also

* 'Zedon. The monastery of Zedon, at which the scottish leaders are said to have held their meeting previous to entering England, is, I should suppose, the modern Kirk-Yetholm, exactly upon the borders, and near the foot of Chéviot: the name is pronounced Yetto'm, which comes very near Yedon.'—W. S.
much

much agitation through the country, and, on their return to Newcastle, gave a faithful report of all they had seen or heard to their lords.

The barons and knights of Northumberland in consequence made their preparations, but very secretly, that the Scots might not know of it and put off their intended inroad, and had retired to their castles, ready to sally forth on the first notice of the arrival of the enemy. They said,—‘ If the Scots enter the country through Cumberland by Carlisle, we will ride into Scotland, and do them more damage than they can do to us ; for theirs is an open country, which may be entered any where, but ours is the contrary, with strong and well fortified towns and castles.’

To be more sure of their intentions, they resolved to send an english gentleman, well acquainted with the country, to this meeting in the forest of Jedworth. The english squire journeyed without interruption until he came to the church of Yetholm, where the scots barons were assembled, and entered it, as a servant following his master, and heard the greater part of their plans. When the meeting was near breaking up, he left the church on his return, and went to a tree, thinking to find his horse which he had tied there by the bridle, but he was gone ; for a Scotsman (they are all thieves) had stolen him. He was fearful of making a noise about it, and set off on foot, though booted and spurred. He had not gone two bow-shots from the church before he was noticed by two scots knights who were in conversation. The first who saw him

said,—‘I have witnessed many wonderful things, but what I now see is equal to any: that man yonder has, I believe, lost his horse, and yet makes no inquiries after it. On my troth, I doubt much if he belongs to us: let us go after him, and see whether I am right or not.’

The two knights soon overtook him. On their approach, he was alarmed and wished himself any where else. They asked him whither he was going, whence he had come, and what he had done with his horse. As he contradicted himself in his answers, they laid hands on him, and said he must come before their captains, and was brought back to the church of Yetholm, to the earl of Douglas and the other lords. They examined him closely, for they knew him for an Englishman, as to the reasons he had come thither, and assured him, if he did not truly answer all their questions, his head should be struck off; but, if he told the truth, no harm should happen to him.

Very unwillingly he obeyed, for the love of life prevailed; and the Scots barons learnt that he had been sent by the earl of Northumberland to discover the number of their forces, and whither they were to march. This intelligence gave them the greatest pleasure, and they would not on any account but have taken this spy.

He was asked where the barons of Northumberland were? if they had any intentions of making an excursion? and what road to Scotland they would take; along the sea-shore from Berwick to Dunbar, or by the mountains through the country
of

of Menteith to Stirling? He replied,—‘ Since you will force me to tell the truth, when I left Newcastle, there were not any signs of an excursion being made; but the barons are all ready to set out at a moment’s warning, as soon as they shall hear you have entered England. They will not oppose you, for they are not in sufficient numbers to meet so large a body as you are reported to them to consist of.’ ‘ And what do they estimate our numbers at in Northumberland?’ said lord Moray. ‘ They say, my lord,’ replied the squire, ‘ that you have full forty thousand men, and twelve hundred spears; and by way of counteracting your career, should you march to Cumberland, they will take the road through Berwick to Dunbar, Dalkeith and Edinburgh: if you follow the other road, they will then march to Carlisle, and enter your country by these mountains.’

The scottish lords, on hearing this, were silent; but looked at each other. The english squire was delivered to the governor of the castle of Jedworth, with orders to have particular guard over him; when they conferred together in the church of Yetholm; and formed other plans.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE SCOTS FORM THEIR ARMY INTO TWO DIVISIONS; ONE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, MARCHES TO CARLISLE, AND THE OTHER TO NEWCASTLE ON TYNE, COMMANDED BY THE EARL OF DOUGLAS,—AT THE BARRIERS OF WHICH PLACE, HE CONQUERS THE PENNON OF SIR HENRY PERCY.

THE barons of Scotland were in high spirits at this intelligence, and considered their success as certain, now they knew the disposition of the enemy. They held a council, as to their mode of proceeding, and the wisest and most accustomed to arms, such as sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, sir Alexander Ramsay, sir John Sinclair and sir James Lindfay, were the speakers: they said,—‘That to avoid any chance of failing in their attempt, they would advise the army to be divided, and two expeditions to be made, so that the enemy might be puzzled whither to march their forces. The largest division, with the baggage, should go to Carlisle, in Cumberland; and the other, consisting of three or four hundred spears, and two thousand stout infantry and archers, all well mounted, should make for Newcastle on Tyne, cross the river, and enter Durham, spoiling and burning the country. They will have committed great waste in England before our enemies can have any information of their

their being there : if we find they come in pursuit of us, which they certainly will, we will then unite together, and fix on a proper place to offer them battle, as we all seem to have that desire, and to gain honour ; for it is time to repay them some of the mischiefs they have done to us.'

This plan was adopted, and sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Menteith, the earl of Mar, the earl of Strathorne, sir Stephen Frazer, sir George Dunbar, with sixteen other great barons of Scotland, were ordered to the command of the largest division that was to march to Carlisle. The earl of Douglas, the earl of March and Dunbar, and the earl of Moray were appointed leaders of the three hundred picked lances and two thousand infantry, who were to advance to Newcastle on Tyne and invade Northumberland.

When these two divisions separated, the lords took a very affectionate leave of each other, promising that if the English took the field against them, they would not fight until they were all united, which would give them such a superiority of force as must ensure victory. They then left the forest of Jedworth, one party marching to the right and the other to the left.

The barons of Northumberland not finding their squire return, nor hearing any thing of the Scots, began to suspect the accident which had happened. They therefore ordered every one to be prepared to march at a moment's notice, or when they should
hear

hear of the Scots having entered the country, for they considered their squire as lost.

Let us return to the expedition under the earl of Douglas and his companions, for they had more to do than the division that went to Carlisle, and were eager to perform some deeds of arms. When the earls of Douglas, Moray and March were separated from the main body, they determined to cross the Tyne and enter the bishoprick of Durham, and, after they had despoiled and burnt that country as far as the city of Durham, to return by Newcastle, and quarter themselves there in spite of the English.

This they executed, and riding at a good pace, through bye roads, without attacking town, castle or house, arrived on the lands of the lord Percy, and crossed the river Tyne, without any opposition, at the place they had fixed on, about three leagues above Newcastle, near to Brancepeth*, where they entered the rich country of Durham, and instantly began their war, by burning towns and slaying the inhabitants.

Neither the earl of Northumberland nor the barons and knights of the country had heard any thing of their invasion: but when intelligence came to Durham and Newcastle that the Scots were abroad, which was indeed visible enough from the smoke that was every where seen, the earl of

* Brancepeth,—four miles from Durham. A ruin of a fine old castle remains, which I believe has been lately fitted up and repaired for a residence.

Northumberland sent his two sons to Newcastle; but he himself remained at Alnwick, and issued his orders for every one to repair thither also. Before his sons left him, he said,—‘ You will hasten to Newcastle, where the whole country will join you: I will remain here, for it is the road they may return by: if we can surround them, we shall do well; but I know not for certain where they now are.’

Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy obeyed their father’s orders, and made for Newcastle, accompanied by the gentlemen and others fit to bear arms. In the mean time, the Scots continued destroying and burning all before them, so that the smoke was visible at Newcastle. They came to the gates of Durham, where they skirmished, but made no long stay, and set out on their return, as they had planned at the beginning of the expedition, driving and carrying away all the booty they thought worth their pains.

The country is very rich between Durham and Newcastle, which is but twelve English miles distant: there was not a town in all this district, unless well inclosed, that was not burnt. The Scots re-crossed the Tyne at the same place, and came before Newcastle, where they halted.

All the knights and squires of Yorkshire were collected at Newcastle, and thither came the seneschals of York, Sir Ralph Mowbray, Sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, Sir Robert Angle, Sir Thomas Grey, Sir Thomas Holcon, Sir John Felton, Sir John Lierbon, Sir William Warrichon, Sir
Thomas

Thomas Boynton, the baron of Helcon, sir John Colpedic, and so many others, the town was filled with more than it could lodge.

The three scots lords, having completed the object of their expedition into Durham, lay before Newcastle three days, where there was an almost continual skirmish. The sons of the earl of Northumberland, from their great courage, were always the first at the barriers, when many valiant deeds were done with lances hand to hand. The earl of Douglas had a long conflict with sir Henry Percy, and in it, by gallantry of arms, won his pennon, to the great vexation of sir Henry and the other English.

The earl of Douglas said,—‘I will carry this token of your prowess with me to Scotland, and place it on the tower of my castle at Dalkeith, that it may be seen from far.’ ‘By God, earl of Douglas,’ replied sir Henry, ‘you shall not even bear it out of Northumberland: be assured you shall never have this pennon to brag of.’ ‘You must come then,’ answered earl Douglas, ‘this night and seek for it. I will fix your pennon before my tent, and shall see if you will venture to take it away.’

As it was now late, the skirmish ended, and each party retired to their quarters, to disarm and comfort themselves. They had plenty of every thing, particularly flesh meat. The Scots kept up a very strict watch, concluding, from the words of sir Henry Percy, they should have their quarters beaten up this night: they were disappointed, for sir Henry was advised to defer it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, WHEN ENCAMPED BEFORE OTTERBOURNE, IS ATTACKED BY SIR HENRY PERCY, TO RE-CONQUER HIS PENNON, AND A GENERAL BATTLE ENSUES.

ON the morrow, the Scots dislodged from before Newcastle; and, taking the road to their own country, they came to a town and castle called Ponclau*, of which sir Haymon d'Alphel, a very valiant knight of Northumberland, was the lord. They halted there about four o'clock in the morning, as they learnt the knight to be within it, and made preparations for the assault. This was done with such courage, that the place was won, and the knight made prisoner. After they had burnt the town and castle, they marched away for Otterbourne†, which was eight english leagues from Newcastle, and there encamped themselves.

This day, they made no attack; but, very early on the morrow, their trumpets sounded, and they made ready for the assault, advancing toward the

* 'Ponclau. Pontland, a village on the Blythe, about five miles from Newcastle.'—W. S.

† Otterbourne—is so well known from this celebrated battle, and the old ballads, that it is almost needless to say it is situated in the parish of Elfdon, Northumberland.

castle,

castle, which was tolerably strong, and situated among marshes. They attacked it so long and so unsuccessfully, that they were fatigued, and therefore founded a retreat. When they had retired to their quarters, the chiefs held a council how to act; and the greater part were for decamping on the morrow, without attempting more against the castle, to join their countrymen in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. But the earl of Douglas overruled this, by saying; 'In despite of sir Henry Percy, who the day before yesterday declared he would take from me his pennon, that I conquered by fair deeds of arms before the gates of Newcastle, I will not depart hence for two or three days; and we will renew our attack on the castle, for it is to be taken: we shall thus gain double honour, and see if within that time he will come for his pennon: if he do, it shall be well defended.'

Every one agreed to what earl Douglas had said; for it was not only honourable, but he was the principal commander; and, from affection to him, they quietly returned to their quarters. They made huts of trees and branches, and strongly fortified themselves. They placed their baggage and servants at the entrance of the marsh on the road to Newcastle, and the cattle they drove into the marsh lands.

I will return to sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were greatly mortified that the earl of Douglas should have conquered their pennon in the skirmish before Newcastle. They felt the more for this disgrace, because sir Henry had not kept his word;
for

for he had told the earl, that he should never carry his pennon out of England, and this he had explained to the knights who were with him in Newcastle.

The English imagined the army under the earl of Douglas to be only the van of the Scots, and that the main body was behind ; for which reason those knights who had the most experience in arms, and were the best acquainted with warlike affairs, strongly opposed the proposal of sir Henry Percy to pursue them. They said,—‘ Sir, many losses happen in war: if the earl of Douglas has won your pennon, he has bought it dear enough; for he has come to the gates to seek it, and has been well fought with. Another time you will gain from him as much, if not more. We say so, because you know as well as we do, that the whole power of Scotland has taken the field.. We are not sufficiently strong to offer them battle; and perhaps this skirmish may have been only a trick to draw us out of the town; and if they be, as reported, forty thousand strong, they will surround us, and have us at their mercy. It is much better to lose a pennon than two or three hundred knights and squires, and leave our country in a defenceless state.’

This speech checked the eagerness of the two brothers Percy, for they would not act contrary to the opinion of the council; when other news was brought them by some knights and squires who had followed and observed the Scots, their numbers, disposition, and where they had halted. This was
all

all fully related by knights who had traversed the whole extent of country the Scots had passed through, that they might carry to their lords the most exact information. They thus spoke,—‘ Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, we come to tell you that we have followed the scottish army, and observed all the country where they now are. They first halted at Pontland, and took sir Haymon de Alphil in his castle: thence they went to Otterbourne, and took up their quarters for the night. We are ignorant of what they did on the morrow, but they seemed to have taken measures for a long stay. We know for certain that their army does not consist of more than three thousand men, including all forts.’

Sir Henry Percy, on hearing this, was greatly rejoiced, and cried out; ‘ To horse! to horse! for by the faith I owe my God, and to my lord and father, I will seek to recover my pennon, and to beat up their quarters this night.’ Such knights and squires in Newcastle as learnt this were willing to be of the party, and made themselves ready.

The bishop of Durham was expected daily at that town; for he had heard of the irruption of the Scots, and that they were before it, in which were the sons of the earl of Northumberland preparing to offer them combat. The bishop had collected a number of men, and was hastening to their assistance, but sir Henry Percy would not wait; for he was accompanied by six hundred spears, of knights and squires, and upwards of eight thousand infantry, which, he said, would be more than

than enough to fight the Scots, who were but three hundred lances and two thousand others.

When they were all assembled, they left Newcastle after dinner, and took the field in good array, following the road the Scots had taken, making for Otterbourne, which was eight short leagues distant; but they could not advance very fast, that their infantry might keep up with them.

As the Scots were supping, some indeed were gone to sleep, for they had laboured hard during the day, at the attack of the castle, and intended renewing it in the cool of the morning, the English arrived, and mistook, at their entrance, the huts of the servants for those of their masters.— They forced their way into the camp, which was, however, tolerably strong, shouting out, ‘Percy! Percy!’ In such cases, you may suppose an alarm is soon given, and it was fortunate for the Scots the English had made their first attack on their servants’ quarters, which checked them some little. The Scots, expecting the English, had prepared accordingly; for, while the lords were arming themselves, they ordered a body of their infantry to join their servants and keep up the skirmish. As their men were armed, they formed themselves under the pennons of the three principal barons, who each had his particular appointment.

In the mean time, the night advanced, but it was sufficiently light; for the moon shone, and it was the month of August, when the weather is temperate and serene.

When the Scots were quite ready, and properly arrayed,

arrayed, they left their camp in silence, but did not march to meet the English. They skirted the side of a mountain which was hard by; for, during the preceding day, they had well examined the country around, and said among themselves, 'Should the English come to beat up our quarters, we will do so and so,' and thus settled their plans beforehand, which was the saving of them; for it is of the greatest advantage to men at arms, when attacked in the night, to have previously arranged their mode of defence, and well to have weighed the chance of victory or defeat.

The English had soon overpowered the servants; but, as they advanced into the camp, they found fresh bodies ready to oppose them, and to continue the fight. The Scots, in the mean time, marched along the mountain side, and fell on the enemy's flank quite unexpectedly, shouting their cries.—This was a great surprise to the English, who, however, formed themselves in better order, and reinforced that part of their army. The cries of Percy and Douglas resounded on each side.

The battle now raged: great was the pushing of lances, and very many of each party were struck down at the first onset. The English being more numerous, and anxious to defeat the enemy, kept in a compact body, and forced the Scots to retire, who were on the point of being discomfited.

The earl of Douglas being young, and impatient to gain renown in arms, ordered his banner to advance, shouting, 'Douglas! Douglas!' Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, indignant for the affront

front the earl of Douglas had put on them, by conquering their pennon, and desirous of meeting him, hastened to the place from which the foundé came, calling out 'Percy! Percy!'

The two banners met, and many gallant deeds of arms ensued. The English were in superior strength, and fought so lustily that they drove back the Scots. Sir Patrick Hepburne, and his son of the same name, did honour to their knighthood and country, by their gallantry, under the banner of Douglas, which would have been conquered but for the vigorous defence they made; and this circumstance not only contributed to their personal credit, but the memory of it is continued with honour to their descendants.

I was made acquainted with all the particulars of this battle by knights and squires who had been actors in it on each side. There were also, with the English, two valiant knights from the county of Foix, whom I had the good fortune to meet at Orthès the year after this battle had been fought. Their names were sir John de Châteauneuf and John de Cautiron. On my return from Foix, I met likewise at Avignon a knight and two squires of Scotland, of the party of earl Douglas. They knew me again, from the recollections I brought to their minds of their own country; for in my youth, I, the author of this history, travelled all through Scotland, and was full fifteen days resident with William earl of Douglas, father of earl James, of whom we are now speaking, at his castle of Dalkeith, five miles distant from Edinburgh.—

Earl

Earl James was then very young, but a promising youth, and he had a sister called Blanche*.

I had my information, therefore, from both parties, who agreed that it was the hardest and most obstinate battle that was ever fought. This I readily believed, for the English and Scots are excellent men at arms, and whenever they meet in battle they do not spare each other; nor is there any check to their courage so long as their weapons endure.—When they have well beaten each other, and one party is victorious, they are so proud of their conquest, that they ransom their prisoners instantly; and in such courteous manner to those who have been taken, that on their departure they return them their thanks. However, when in battle, there is no boy's play between them, nor do they shrink from the combat; and you will see, in the further detail of this battle, as excellent deeds performed as were ever witnessed.

* Blanche. Earl William Douglas was first married to Margaret, daughter of the earl of Mar. By her he had two children, James, who succeeded him in his honours, and Isabel.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, IN RALLYING HIS MEN WHO WERE RETREATING, IS MORTALLY WOUNDED.—SIR RALPH PERCY, BADLY WOUNDED, SURRENDERS TO SIR JOHN MAXWELL, WHO PUTS HIM IN THE HANDS OF THE EARL OF MORAY.

THE knights and squires of either party were anxious to continue the combat with vigour as long as their spears might be capable of holding. Cowardice was there unknown, and the most splendid courage was every where exhibited by the gallant youths of England and Scotland: they were so closely intermixed, that the archers' bows were useless, and they fought hand to hand without either battalion giving way. The Scots behaved most valiantly, for the English were three to one. I do not mean to say the English did not acquit themselves well; for they would sooner be slain or made prisoners in battle, than reproached with flight.

As I before mentioned, the two banners of Douglas and Percy met, and the men at arms, under each, exerted themselves by every means, to gain the victory; but the English, at this attack, were so much the stronger, that the Scots were driven

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back.

back. The earl of Douglas, who was of a high spirit, seeing his men repulsed, seized a battle-axe with both his hands, like a gallant knight, and, to rally his men, dashed into the midst of his enemies, and gave such blows on all around him, that no one could withstand them, but all made way for him on every side; for there were none so well armed with helmets or plates but that they suffered from his battle-axe. Thus he advanced, like another Hector, thinking to recover and conquer the field, from his own prowess, until he was met by three spears that were pointed at him: one struck him on the shoulder, another on the stomach, near the belly, and the third entered his thigh. He could never disengage himself from these spears, but was borne to the ground fighting desperately. From that moment he never rose again. Some of his knights and squires had followed him, but not all; for, though the moon shone, it was rather dark.

The three english lances knew they had struck down some person of considerable rank, but never thought it was earl Douglas: had they known it, they would have been so rejoiced that their courage would have been redoubled, and the fortune of the day had consequently been determined to their side. The Scots were ignorant also of their loss until the battle was over, otherwise they would certainly, from despair, have been discomfited.

I will relate what befel the earl afterward. As soon as he fell, his head was cleaved with a battle-axe, the spear thrust through his thigh, and the
main

main body of the English marched over him without paying any attention, not supposing him to be their principal enemy.

In another part of the field the earl of March and Dunbar combated valiantly; and the English gave the Scots full employment who had followed the earl of Douglas, and had engaged with the two Percies.

The earl of Moray behaved so gallantly in pursuing the English, that they knew not how to resist him.

Of all the battles that have been described in this history, great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight or squire, who did not acquit himself gallantly, hand to hand with his enemy. It resembled something that of Cocherel, which was as long and as hardily disputed.

The sons of the earl of Northumberland, sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were the leaders of this expedition, behaved themselves like good knights in the combat. Almost a similar accident befel sir Ralph as that which happened to the earl of Douglas; for, having advanced too far, he was furrounded by the enemy and severely wounded, and, being out of breath, surrendered himself to a Scots knight, called sir John Makirel*, who was under the command, and of the household, of the earl of Moray.

* Makirel,—Maxwelle.—*Pinkerton's History of Scotland.*

. When made prisoner, the knight asked him who he was ; for it was dark, and he knew him not. Sir Ralph was so weakened by loss of blood, which was flowing from his wound, that he could scarcely avow himself to be sir Ralph Percy. ‘ Well,’ replied the knight, ‘ sir Ralph, rescued or not, you are my prisoner : my name is Maxwelle.’ ‘ I agree to it,’ said sir Ralph, ‘ but pay some attention to me ; for I am so desperately wounded, that my drawers and greaves are full of blood.’

Upon this, the scots knight was very attentive to him ; when suddenly hearing the cry of Moray hard by, and perceiving the earl’s banner advancing to him, sir John addressed himself to the earl of Moray, and said,—‘ My lord, I present you with sir Ralph Percy, as a prisoner ; but let good care be taken of him, for he is very badly wounded.’

The earl was much pleased at this, and replied, ‘ Maxwelle, thou hast well earned thy spurs this day.’ He then ordered his men to take every care of sir Ralph, who bound up and staunches his wounds. The battle still continued to rage, and no one could say at that moment which side would be the conqueror, for there were very many captures and rescues that never came to my knowledge.

CHAP. XL.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, THOUGH MORTALLY WOUNDED, ORDERS HIS BANNER TO BE RAISED, AS THE BEARER HAD BEEN SLAIN, AND FORBIDS HIS LAMENTABLE STATE TO BE MADE KNOWN TO HIS MEN, URGING THEM ON TO THE COMBAT, BY WHICH THEY DEFEAT THEIR ENEMIES AND MAKE SIR HENRY PERCY WITH MANY MORE PRISONERS.

THE young earl of Douglas had this night performed wonders in arms. When he was struck down, there was a great crowd round him; and he could not raise himself, for the blow on his head was mortal. His men had followed him as closely as they were able; and there came to him his cousins, sir James Lindsay, sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and squires. They found by his side a gallant knight that had constantly attended him, who was his chaplain, and had at this time exchanged his profession for that of a valiant man at arms. The whole night he had followed the earl with his battle-axe in hand, and had by his exertions more than once repulsed the English. This conduct gained the thanks of his countrymen, and turned out to his advantage, for in the same year he was promoted to the archdeaconry and made canon of Aberdeen. His name was

was fir William de Norbenich *. To say the truth, he was well formed in all his limbs to shine in battle, and was severely wounded at this combat.

When these knights came to the earl of Douglas, they found him in a melancholy state, as well as one of his knights, fir Robert Hart, who had fought by his side the whole of the night, and now lay beside him, covered with fifteen wounds from lances and other weapons.

Sir John Sinclair asked the earl, ‘Cousin, how fares it with you?’ ‘But so so,’ replied he.—‘Thanks to God, there are but few of my ancestors who have died in chambers or in their beds. I bid you, therefore, revenge my death, for I have but little hope of living, as my heart becomes every minute more faint. Do you Walter and fir John Sinclair raise up my banner, for certainly it is on the ground, from the death of David Collemine, that valiant squire, who bore it, and who refused knighthood from my hands this day, though he was equal to the most eminent knights for courage or loyalty, and continue to shout ‘Douglas!’ but do not tell friend or foe whether I am in your company or not; for, should the enemy know the truth, they will be greatly rejoiced.’

The two brothers Sinclair, and fir John Lindsay, obeyed his orders. The banner was raised and ‘Douglas!’ shouted. Their men, who had remained behind, hearing the shouts of ‘Douglas,

* William of North Berwick. See note, p. 271.

Douglas!’

Douglas !' so often repeated, ascended a small eminence, and pushed their lances with such courage that the English were repulsed, and many killed or struck to the ground. The Scots, by thus valiantly driving the enemy beyond the spot where the earl of Douglas lay dead, for he had expired on giving his last orders, arrived at his banner, which was borne by sir John Sinclair. Numbers were continually increasing, from the repeated shouts of 'Douglas !' and the greater part of the scots knights and squires were now there.

The earls of Moray and March, with their banners and men, came thither also. When they were all thus collected, perceiving the English retreat, they renewed the battle with greater vigour than before. To say the truth, the English had harder work than the Scots, for they had come by a forced march that evening from Newcastle on Tyne, which was eight english leagues distant, to meet the Scots, by which means the greater part were exceedingly fatigued before the combat began. The Scots, on the contrary, had reposed themselves, which was to them of the utmost advantage, as was apparent from the event of the battle. In this last attack, they so completely repulsed the English, that the latter could never rally again, and the former drove them far beyond where the earl of Douglas lay on the ground. Sir Henry Percy, during this attack, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the lord Montgomery, a very valiant knight of Scotland. They had long fought hand to hand with much valour, and without hindrance
from

from any one ; for there was neither knight nor squire of either party who did not find there his equal to fight with, and all were fully engaged. In the end, sir Henry was made prisoner by the lord Montgomery.

You would have seen, in this engagement, such knights and squires as sir Mark Adremench, sir Thomas Avermersquin, sir William, sir James and sir Alexander Lindsay, the lord Saltoun, sir John Sandilands, sir Patrick Dunbar, sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, sir Patrick Hepburne and his two sons, the lord Montgomery, sir John Messurel, sir John Gladwin, sir William Redoue, sir William Stuart, sir John Haliburton, sir John Alidier, sir Robert Landre, sir Alexander Ramsay, sir Alexander Frazer, sir John Ermoufcon, sir William Varlan, David Fremin, Robert Colomone and his two sons, John and Robert, who were that day knighted, and a hundred other knights and squires, whose names I cannot remember ; but there was not one who did not most gallantly perform his part in this engagement.

On the side of the English, there were sir Ralph de Longblé, sir Matthew Redman, sir Robert Aveugle, sir Thomas Graty, sir Thomas Helquon, sir Thomas Abreton, sir John de Liebon, sir William Valsincon, the baron de Helcon, sir John de Copledup, sénéchal of York, and many more, who on foot maintained the fight vigorously, both before and after the capture of sir Henry Percy.

The battle was severely fought on each side ; but, such is the fickleness of fortune, that though the
English

English were a more numerous body of able men at arms, and at the first onset had repulsed the Scots, they in the end lost the field; and all the above-named knights, except sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, were made prisoners. But he seeing they were defeated without hopes of recovery, and the English flying in all directions, while his brother-knights were surrendering themselves to the Scots, mounted his horse, and rode off.

Just as the defeat took place, and while the combat was continued in different parts, an english squire, whose name was Thomas Veletem, and attached to the household of lord Percy, was surrounded by a body of Scots. He was a handsome man, and, as he shewed, valiant in arms. He had that and the preceding night been employed in collecting the best arms, and would neither surrender nor deign to fly. It was told me, that he had made a vow to that purpose, and had declared at some feast in Northumberland, that at the very first meeting of the Scots and English, he would acquit himself so loyally that, for having stood his ground, he should be renowned as the best combatant of both parties. I also heard, for I never saw him, that I know of, that his body and limbs were of a strength befitting a vigorous combatant; and he performed such deeds of valour, when engaged with the banner of the earl of Moray, as astonished the Scots, but he was slain while thus valiantly fighting. They would willingly have made him a prisoner for his courage; and several knights proposed

posed it to him, but in vain, for he thought he should be assisted by his friends.

Thus died Thomas Felton, while engaged with a cousin of the king of Scotland, called Simon Gladwin, much lamented by his party.

According to what I heard, this battle was very bloody from its commencement to the defeat : but when the Scots saw the English were discomfited and surrendering on all sides, they behaved courteously to them, saying, ‘ Sit down and disarm yourselves, for I am your master,’ but never insulted them more than if they had been brothers.

The pursuit lasted a long time, and to the length of five english miles. Had the Scots been in sufficient numbers, none would have escaped death or captivity ; and if sir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, the earl of Sutherland, with the division that had marched for Carlisle, had been there, they would have taken the bishop of Durham and the town of Newcastle on Tyne, as I shall explain to you *.

CHAP.

* Through the kindness of my friends at Edinburgh, particularly Dr. Robert Anderson and Walter Scott, Esq. to whom the public are indebted for many instructive and amusing performances, I am enabled to clear up, in some measure, my historian's blunders in the names of the heroes at this celebrated battle, and to add a few more particulars concerning it.

‘ The present mansion of Otterbourne, belonging to Mr. Ellis of Newcastle, is founded upon the ancient castle or tower which Douglas was besieging when attacked by Percy. The field

CHAP. XLI.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM IS ANXIOUS TO SUCCOUR
THE ENGLISH AND RESCUE SIR HENRY PERCY,
BUT IS SO BADLY SUPPORTED BY HIS MEN, THAT
HE IS FORCED TO RETREAT.—HE MAKES SIR
JAMES LINDSAY PRISONER, WHO HAD TAKEN SIR
MATTHEW REDMAN.

THE same evening that sir Henry and sir Ralph
Percy had left Newcastle, the bishop of Dur-
ham, with the remainder of the forces of that dis-
trict, had arrived there and supped. While seated
at

field of battle is still called *Battle-crofts*. There is a cross
erected on the spot where Douglas fell.'

See the two ballads on this battle, published by Dr. Percy in
his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, and by Walter Scott,
Esq. in his *Border Minstrelsy*: from the scots ballad I extract
as follows.

' Douglas was armed with an iron mace, which few but he
could wield, and rushed into the combat, followed only by his
chaplain and his two squires. Before his followers could come
up, their brave leader lay stretched on the ground, with three
mortal wounds, and his two squires dead by his side: the priest
alone, armed with a lance, was protecting his master from far-
ther injury. 'I die like my forefathers,' said the expiring hero,
'in a field of battle, and not on a bed of sickness. Conceal
my death, defend my standard, and avenge my fall. It is an
old

at table, he considered that he should not act very honourably if he remained in the town while his countrymen had taken the field. In consequence, he rose from table, ordered his horses to be saddled, and his trumpets to sound for those who had horses

old proverb, that a dead man shall gain a field, and I hope it will be accomplished this night.'

'The two squires of the body to Douglas were Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning: the chaplain, Richard Lundie, afterwards archdeacon of Aberdeen.

'The banner of Douglas was borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the family of Cavers, hereditary sheriffs of Tiviotdale, amongst whose archives this glorious relic is still preserved. The earl, at the onset, is said to have charged his son to defend it to the last drop of his blood.

'Hotspur, for his ransom to the lord Montgomery, built the castle of Penoon, in Ayrshire, belonging to the family of Montgomery, now earls of Eglintoun.'

In this ballad, Douglas is said to have been murdered by one of his own men; and, in the introductory discourse, there seems to have been a traditionary foundation for it, and the very person is named that was supposed to have done the deed; but Mr. Scott rejects this as totally untrue, and arising from the common desire of assigning some remote and extraordinary cause for the death of a great man.

Dr. Percy says in a note, that 'Otterbourne is near the old watling street road, in the parish of Elfdon. The Scots were encamped on a grassy plain near the river Read. The place where the Scots and English fought is still called Battle-riggs.'

Warriors mentioned by Froissart as engaged at Otterbourne:

'Sir Robert Avercequi. Erskine. Sir Robert Erskine of Alva was taken at Homeldown.

'Sir Marc Ordrennen. A terrible corruption of John Gordon, killed in the battle. Perhaps (like one of his sons) he was

horses to make themselves ready, and the infantry to be drawn out in array for quitting the place.

When they had all left it, they amounted to seven thousand men; that is, two thousand on horseback and five thousand on foot. Although it was
now

was called familiarly sir Jock Gordon. He was lord of Huntley.

‘ The lord de Sechin. William created lord Seton by Robert III.

‘ Sir John de Sobelans. Sir John Sandilands. He married a daughter of Robert II.

‘ Sir Patrick Sohopbone. Sir Patrick Hepburn, lord of Hailes. He repelled the desperate assault made by the English upon the standard of Douglas.

‘ Sir John Malisnel. Sir John Maxwell, anciently spelled Maccuswal. He is mentioned in the old ballad in Percy’s Reliques.

‘ Sir Adam Gladivin. Glendonwin, or Glendinning as pronounced. He was slain in the battle close to Douglas. His name was Simon, not Adam.

‘ Sir William de Redurin. Perhaps Rutherford, spelled anciently Ridderford of Edgerstone.

‘ Sir William Stanac. Probably Stronach, an ancient Scottish name, or perhaps a blunder for sir Walter Scott, a great warrior, who was assuredly in the engagement. He was killed at Homeldown.

‘ Sir John de Halpebreton. Sir John Haliburton of Dirleton.

‘ Sir Alidier Landre. Sir Alexander Lauder of the Bass, a renowned hero.

‘ Sir William de Morbereth. Sir William Moubray.

‘ Sir Maubert Here. Sir Robert Hart, who was slain beside Douglas. See Barry’s Poem.

‘ Sir William de Waleram. Probably a foreigner.

‘ Sir

now night, they took the road toward Otterbourne; but they had not advanced a league from Newcastle before intelligence was brought that the English were engaged with the Scots. On this, the bishop halted his men; and several more joined them,

‘ Sir John Amourstan. Sir John Edmondstoune. It seems very unlikely that Haggerstoune fought on the side of Scotland.

‘ David Filium—is translated by lord Berners, ‘Davy his son;’ that is, sir John Edmondstoune’s. I can think of no scottish name resembling Filium, and none such occurs in the account of the battle given by our historians.

‘ Robert Colennie. Perhaps Robert Campbell.

‘ Sir William de Fif. Sir William Fife.

‘ Comte d’Astroderne. Earl of Stratherne.

‘ Sir Raoul de Lombre. Sir Ralph Bulmer.

‘ Sir Raoul Demeren. I suspect that by one of those inversions which are incident to a person spelling an unknown name from the pronunciation, Froissart may have written de Meren for de Mener, which would give us the name Manners, well known in northern warfare.

‘ Sir Robert Angle. Here, I suspect, we have again one of the Langleys. There is not, that I have noticed, a family of Angles in the north of England.

‘ Sir Thomas Grea. Sir Thomas Gray, ancestor of lord Tankerville.

‘ Sir Thomas Holcon. Holton, or Hilltown, the *t* and *c* being easily mistaken in old MSS.

‘ Sir John Felcon. Felton. He was high sheriff of Northumberland in the 14th of Richard II. and held by grand sergentcy the manor of West Matfen.

‘ Sir John de Lierbon. Sir John Lilburne, a great northumbrian warrior.

‘ Sir William Wanichon. Very likely Widdrington.

‘ Sir Thomas Aboiton. Abington, or Boynton.

‘ Le Baron de Helcon. William Carnaby was lord of the manor

them, out of breath from the combat. They were asked how the affair went : they replied, ‘ Badly, and unfortunately : we are defeated, and here are the Scots close at our heels.’

This second intelligence, being worse than the first,

manor of Halton and Halton-tower in 9th of Henry IV. It came into his family by marriage with the heir-female of William de Halton, high sheriff of Northumberland in the 25th of Edward I. See Dugdale, vol. II. p. 92. & Esceat. de anno nono Henrici quarti.

‘ Sir John Colpedie. Copeland.

‘ Sir Aymer d’Alphel. Raymond Delaval.

‘ John Makirel. From his holding under the earl of Moray, and other circumstances, this gallant squire seems to have been John Maxwell; that name being anciently spelled, and perhaps pronounced Maccuswal : an *s* exchanged of *r* would make Maccural.

‘ William de Norbenick. William of North Berwick. Major, speaking of this valiant priest, says, that the chaplain of every scottish baron fought by his side.

‘ Messire Marc Adremench. Sir Malcolm Drummond.—Three years before the battle, he had 400 livres out of the money brought over by John de Vienne.

‘ Mess. Thomas Avremesquin. Sir Thomas Erskine, ancestor of the family of Mar.

‘ Le seigneur de Saulcon. William de Abernethy, lord of Saltoun in East Lothian.

‘ Sir John Saintdelanx. A various spelling of Sandelands.

‘ Sir John Messurel. Either John Maxwell before mentioned, or John Marshall.

‘ Mess. John Gladwin. We have no such scottish name as Gladwin. Barry mentions a young knight, named Gledstane, as having fallen.

‘ Mess. William de Redone. Perhaps William de Riddel.

‘ Mess. John Alidier. Sir John of Lauder, quasi a Lauder.

‘ Mess.

first, gave the alarm to several, who broke from their ranks; and when, shortly after, crowds came to them flying like men defeated, they were panic-struck, and so frightened with the bad news, that the bishop of Durham could not retain five hundred of his men together.

‘ Mess. Robert Landre. Sir Robert Lundie, famed for his courage in the battle.

‘ Mess. John Ermoufcon. Sir John Armstrong.

‘ Mess. William Varlan. Sir William Wardlaw.

‘ David Fremin. David Fleming.

‘ Robert Colomme. Perhaps Campbell.

‘ ENGLISH.

‘ Raoul de Longblé. Ralph de Langley, a powerful family in Northumberland, long lords of Langley Castle.

‘ Robert Aveugle. Robert of Ogle.

‘ Thomas Graty. Either Gray or Thomas of Graystock; the former most likely.

‘ Thomas Hellquon. Hilltor, Halltown or Hatton.

‘ Thomas Abretown. Thomas Abington.

‘ John Liebon. John Lilburn, above mentioned.

‘ Thomas Valincon. William Walsingham.

‘ Le baron de Helcon. The lord of Halltown.

‘ Sir John de Colpedup. Sir John Copeland of Copeland Castle in Northumberland.

‘ Thomas Veleton. Thomas Felton. The prowess of this squire seems to have given rise to the story of Weddrington in Chevy Chase.

‘ Froissart does not mention John Swinton of Swinton, who made a great figure at the battle of Otterbourne, and was the same person who fought with the French at the barriers of the town of Noyon, in sir Robert Knolles’ expedition in 1370, called by Froissart Affueton, and which I translated Seton, the Mistress of the Borders not being then published. This hero was slain at the battle of Homeldown.

Now,

Now, supposing a large body had come upon them and followed them in their flight (with the addition of its being night), to regain the town, would not there have been much mischief? for those acquainted with arms imagine the alarm would have been so great, that the Scots would have forced their way into the place with them.

When the bishop of Durham, who was eager to reinforce the English, saw his own men thus join the runaways in their flight; he demanded from sir William de Luffy*, sir Thomas Clifford and other knights of his company, what they were now to do? These knights could not, or would not advise him: for to return without having done anything would be dishonourable, and to advance seemed attended with danger, they therefore remained silent; but the longer they waited, the more their men decreased in numbers.

The bishop at length said,—‘Gentlemen, every thing considered, there is no honour in fool-hardiness; nor is it requisite that to one misfortune we add another: we hear and see that our men are defeated: this we cannot remedy; for, should we attempt to reinforce them, we scarcely know whether we should go, nor what numbers the enemy consist of. We will return this night to Newcastle; and to-morrow re-assemble and march to find our enemies.’ They replied, ‘God assist us in it!’—Upon this they marched back to Newcastle.

* De Luffy. G. Lucy:

Observe the consequences of this alarm; for had they remained steady in a body, as they had left Newcastle, and forced the runaways to return with them, they must have defeated the Scots, which was the opinion of many. But it was not to be so, and the Scots remained victorious.

I will say something of sir Matthew Redman, who had mounted his horse to escape from the battle, as he alone could not recover the day. On his departure, he was noticed by sir James Lindsay, a valiant scots knight, who was near him, and, through courage and the hope of gain, was desirous of pursuing him. His horse was ready, and leaping on him with his battle-axe hung at his neck, and spear in hand, galloped after him, leaving his men and the battle, and came so close to him, that he might, had he chosen, have hit him with his lance; but he said,—‘ Ha, sir knight, turn about: it is disgraceful thus to fly: I am James Lindsay; and, if you do not turn, I will drive my spear into your back.’ Sir Matthew made no reply, but stuck spurs harder into his horse than before. In this state did the chase last for three miles, when sir Matthew’s horse stumbling under him, he leaped off, drew his sword from the scabbard, and put himself in a posture of defence. The scots knight made a thrust at him with his lance, thinking to strike him on the breast; but sir Matthew, by writhing his body, escaped the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. Sir Matthew now stepped forward, and with his sword cut the spear in two.

Sir

Sir James Lindsay, finding he had lost his lance, flung the shaft on the ground, and, dismounting, grasped his battle-axe, which was slung across his shoulder, and handled it with one hand very dexterously, for the Scots are accustomed thus to use it, attacking the knight with renewed courage, who defended himself with much art. They pursued each other for a long time, one with the battle-axe and the other with the sword, for there was no one to prevent them ; but, at last, sir James laid about him such heavy blows, that sir Matthew was quite out of breath, which made him surrender ; and he said, ‘ Lindsay, I yield myself to you.’

‘ Indeed !’ replied the scots knight, ‘ rescued or not.’ ‘ I consent,’ said sir Matthew : ‘ you will take good care of me.’ ‘ That I will,’ answered sir James. Sir Matthew on this put his sword in the scabbard, and said, ‘ Now, what do you require of me, for I am your prisoner by fair conquest ?’ ‘ And what is it you would wish me to do ?’ replied sir James. ‘ I should like,’ answered sir Matthew, ‘ to return to Newcastle ; and, within fifteen days, I will come to you in any part of Scotland you shall appoint.’ ‘ I agree,’ said sir James, ‘ on your pledging yourself, that within three weeks you be in Edinburgh ; and wherever you may go, you acknowledge yourself as my prisoner.’

Sir Matthew having sworn to observe these conditions, each sought his horse, that was pasturing hard by, and, having mounted, took leave and de-

parted, sir James by the way he had come, to join his countrymen, and sir Matthew to Newcastle.

Sir James, from the darkness of the night, as the moon did not shine very clear, mistook his road, and had not advanced half a league before he fell in with the bishop of Durham and more than five hundred English: he might have escaped this danger had he chosen it, but he thought they were his friends in pursuit of the enemy. When in the midst of them, those nearest asked who he was. He replied, 'I am sir James Lindsay.' Upon this, the bishop, who was within hearing, pushed forward and said, 'Lindsay, you are taken: surrender yourself to me.' 'And who are you?' said Lindsay. 'I am the bishop of Durham.' 'And where do you come from?' added Lindsay. 'By my faith, friend, I intended being at the battle, but unfortunately was too late; and in despair I am returning to Newcastle, whither you will accompany me.' 'If you insist on it, I must comply,' answered sir James; 'but I have made a prisoner, and am now one myself: such is the chance of war.' 'Whom have you taken?' asked the bishop. 'I have captured and ransomed, after a long pursuit, sir Matthew Redman.' 'And where is he?' said the bishop. 'On my faith,' replied sir James, 'he is returned to Newcastle: he entreated I would allow him three weeks liberty, which I complied with.' 'Well, well,' said the bishop, 'let us get on to Newcastle, where you shall converse with him.'

Thus

Thus they returned to Newcastle, sir James Lindsay as prisoner to the bishop of Durham. Under the banner of the earl of March, a squire of Gascony, John de Châteauneuf, was made prisoner, as was his companion, John de Cauteron, under the banner of the earl of Moray.

CHAP. XLII.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM MARCHES ON THE MORROW OF THE BATTLE TO THE SCOTS CAMP, BUT RETIRES WITHOUT DARING TO ATTACK IT.—THE SCOTS RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

BEFORE the dawn of day, the field was clear of combatants. The Scots had retired within their camp, and had sent scouts and parties of light horse towards Newcastle and on the adjacent roads, to observe whether the English were collecting in any large bodies, that they might not a second time be surprised.

This was wisely done; for when the bishop of Durham was returned to Newcastle, and had disarmed himself at his lodgings, he was very melancholy at the unfortunate news he had heard, that his cousins, the sons of the earl of Northumberland, and all the knights who had followed them, were either taken or slain. He sent for all knights and

and squires at the time in Newcastle, and demanded if they would suffer things to remain in their present state, for that they would be disgraced should they return without ever seeing their enemies.— They held a council, and determined to arm themselves by sun-rise, and to march horse and foot after the Scots to Otterbourne and offer them battle. This resolution was published throughout the town, and the trumpets sounded at the appointed hour.

The whole army made themselves ready, and were drawn up before the bridge. About sun-rise they left Newcastle, through the gate leading to Berwick, and followed the road to Otterbourne. They amounted in the whole, including horse and foot, to ten thousand men.

They had not advanced two leagues before it was signified to the Scots, that the bishop of Durham had rallied his troops and was on his march to give them battle. This was likewise confirmed by their scouts, who brought the same intelligence.

Sir Matthew Redman, on his return to Newcastle, told the event of the battle, and of his being made prisoner by sir James Lindsay, and learnt, to his surprise, from the bishop, or from some of his people, that sir James had in his turn been taken by the bishop. As soon, therefore, as the bishop had quitted Newcastle, sir Matthew went to his lodgings in search of his master, whom he found very melancholy, looking out of a window. ‘What has brought you here, sir James?’ was the first salu-

lute of fir Matthew. Sir James, interrupting his melancholy thoughts, advanced to meet him, bade him good day, and replied,—‘ By my faith, Redman, ill luck ; for I had no sooner parted with you, and was returning home, than I fell in with the bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, in like manner as you are to me. I believe there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ransom, for we may finish the business here if my master consent to it.’

‘ We shall soon agree as to that,’ replied Redman ; ‘ but you must come and dine with me ; for the bishop and his men have marched to attack your countrymen. I know not what success they will have, nor shall we be informed till their return.’ ‘ I accept your invitation,’ answered Lindsay. In such manner did these two enjoy each other’s company in Newcastle.

The barons and knights of Scotland, on being informed of the bishop of Durham’s approach with ten thousand men, held a council, whether to march away or abide the event. On mature consideration, they resolved on the latter, from the difficulty of finding so strong a position to defend themselves and guard their prisoners, of whom they had many. These they could not carry away with them, on account of the wounded, nor were they willing to leave them behind. They formed themselves in a strong body, and had fortified their camp in such manner that it could be entered by only one pass. They then made their prisoners swear,

swear, that rescued or not they would acknowledge themselves prisoners.

When this was all done, they ordered their minstrels to play as merrily as they could. The Scots have a custom, when assembled in arms, for those who are on foot to be well dressed, each having a large horn slung round his neck, in the manner of hunters, and when they blow all together, the horns being of different sizes, the noise is so great it may be heard four miles off, to the great dismay of their enemies and their own delight. The Scots commanders ordered this sort of music now to be played.

The bishop of Durham with his banner, under which were at least ten thousand men, had scarcely approached within a league of the Scots, when they began to play such a concert, that it seemed as if all the devils in hell had come thither to join in the noise, so that those of the English who had never before heard such, were much frightened. This concert lasted a considerable time, and then ceased. After a pause, when they thought the English were within half a league, they recommenced it, continuing it as long as before, when it again ceased.

The bishop, however, kept advancing with his men in battle-array until they came within sight of the enemy, two bow-shots off: the Scots then began to play louder than before, and for a longer time, during which the bishop examined with surprise how well they had chosen their encampment,
and

and strengthened it to their advantage. Some knights held a council how they should act, and it seemed that, after much deliberation, they thought it not advisable to risk an attack, for there were greater chances of loss than gain, but determined to return again to Newcastle.

The Scots, perceiving the English were retreating, and that there was no appearance of any battle, retired within their camp to refresh themselves with meat and liquor. They then made preparations for departure: but because sir Ralph Percy had been dangerously wounded, he begged of his master to allow him to return to Newcastle, or wherever else in Northumberland he might have his wounds better attended to, and remain there until cured; and in case this favour was granted him, as soon as he should be able to mount a horse, he pledged to surrender himself at Edinburgh, or in any other part of Scotland.

The earl of Moray, under whose banner he had been taken, readily assented to this request, and had a litter prepared for him. In a similar manner, several knights and squires obtained their liberty; fixing on a time to return in person to those who had captured them, or to send the amount of their ransoms*.

I was

* The ransoms were estimated at 200,000 francs. Robert III. granted to Henry Preston, for the redemption of Ralph Percy, the lands and barony of Frondin, Aberdeenshire, the

I was told by those who were of the victorious party, that at this battle, which was fought in the year of grace 1388, between Newcastle and Otterbourne, on the 19th day of August, there were taken or left dead on the field, on the side of the English, one thousand and forty men of all descriptions; in the pursuit, eighteen hundred and forty, and more than one thousand wounded. Of the Scots, there were only about one hundred slain, and two hundred made prisoners.

As the English were flying, they at times rallied, and returned to combat those who were pursuing them, whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity, and it was thus their loss was so considerable in the pursuit. You may judge from the number of killed and prisoners on each side, if this battle was not hardily fought.

When every thing had been arranged, and the dead bodies of the earl of Douglas, sir Robert Hart and sir Simon Glendinning were inclosed within coffins, and placed on cars, they began their march, carrying with them sir Henry Percy and upwards of forty english knights. They took the road to Melrose on the Tweed, and on their departure they set fire to their huts. They lodged this night in England without any opposition, and

the town of Fyvie and place thereof, the town of Meikle Gaddies, the five-mark land of Parkhill. Scots Cal. f. 104.—Froissart apparently errs in the name of his captor; yet Mar had 20*l.* a year for a third of it, the whole exceeding 600*l.*—*Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 41. note.

on

on the morrow decamped very early and arrived at Melrose, which is an abbey of black monks, situated on the borders of the two kingdoms.

They there halted, and gave directions to the friars for the burial of the earl of Douglas, whose obsequies were very reverently performed on the second day after their arrival. His body was placed in a tomb of stone, with the banner of Douglas suspended over it. Of this earl of Douglas, God save his soul! there was no issue, nor do I know who succeeded to the estate of Douglas; for when I, the author of this history, was in Scotland, at his castle of Dalkeith, during the lifetime of earl William, there were only two children, a boy and a girl. There were enow of the name of Douglas; for I knew five handsome brothers, squires, of this name, at the court of king David of Scotland, who were the children of a knight called sir James Douglas*. The earl's arms, of three oreilles gules on a field or, descended to them; but I am ignorant to whom fell the land†. You must know, that

* Earl James Douglas married the lady Isabella Stuart, daughter of king Robert II. and, dying without lawful issue, was succeeded by his brother, Archibald lord Galloway, called Archibald the Grim. This last was the issue of earl William's second marriage with Margaret, daughter of Patrick earl of March.—*Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*.

† These arms, according to Crawford, must be wrong; for, in his Peerage, the arms are described as, 'Four coats quarterly; 1. azure, a lion rampant, crowned with an imperial crown, or; 2. or, a lion rampant gules, surmounted of a ribbon

that the sir Archibald Douglas whom I have often mentioned as a gallant knight, and one much feared by the English, was a bastard.

When they had finished the business which had brought them to Melrose, they departed, each to his own country; and those who had prisoners carried them with them, or ransomed them before they left Melrose. In this matter, the English found the Scots very courteous and accommodating, which pleased them much, as I learnt at the castle of the count de Foix from John de Châteauneuf, who had been made prisoner under the banner of the earl of March and Dunbar: he praised the earl exceedingly for his generosity in allowing him to fix his ransom at his pleasure.

Thus did these men at arms separate, having very soon and handsomely settled the amount of the ransoms for their prisoners, who by degrees returned to their homes. It was told me, and I believe it, that the Scots gained two hundred thousand francs from the ransoms, and that never since the battle of Bannockburn, when the Bruce, sir William Douglas, sir Robert de Verfy and sir Si-

bon fable; 3. or, a fesse cheque, azure and argent, surmounted of a bend fable, charged with five buckles, or; 4. argent, three pyles gules, over all, in a shield of pretence argent, a heart, gules, ensigned with an imperial crown, or, on a chief azure, three mollets of the first, supported on the dexter with a savage, wreathed about the loins with laurel, and on the sinister by a stag proper: crest, a salamander, vomiting fire: motto, *Jamais arriere*, all within a compartment of flakes impaled.

mon

mon Frazer pursued the English for three days, have they had so complete nor so gainful a victory.

When the news of it was brought to sir Archibald Douglas, the earls of Fife and Sutherland, before Carlisle, where they were with the larger division of the army, they were greatly rejoiced, but at the same time vexed that they had not been present. They held a council, and determined to retreat into Scotland since their companions had already marched thither. In consequence, they broke up their camp, and re-entered Scotland.

We will now leave the English and Scots, and speak of the young king of France, and the large army he marched into Germany to revenge himself on the duke of Gueldres.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG, ON HIS MARCH TO GUELDRES.—THE DUKE OF JULIERS, FATHER OF THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, MAKES EXCUSES FOR HIS SON TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—HE IS GRACIOUSLY RECEIVED, AND HAS THE TERRITORY OF VIERSON RESTORED TO HIM, FOR WHICH HE PAYS HOMAGE TO THE KING.

WHEN the king of France and his army had crossed the Meuse at the bridge of Morfay*, they took the road to the Ardennes and bishoprick of Luxembourg, and had always in advance a large body of pioneers to clear the bushes, and level the roads. The king's army was very numerous, and well appointed. The duke of Juliers and his subjects much dreaded their approach, for they knew they should be first attacked, and the country of Juliers is so level that the men at-arms would in one day despoil the whole, excepting a few castles and towns which would perhaps make some little resistance, but they could not hold out long.

* Morfay. Q. Moufon, or Mezieres.

The king of France entered Luxembourg, and was lodged for two days at the monastery where duke Wincefflaus of Brabant had been buried. At his departure, he took the road to Bastogne*, and encamped at the distance of a league from where the ducheſs of Brabant was lodged. The ducheſs had notified to the duke of Burgundy her arrival at Bastogne, who waited on her, and conducted her to the king's tent. The king received her very kindly; and, after they had converſed ſome time together, ſhe returned to Baſtogne, eſcorted by ſir John de Vienne and ſir Guy de la Trimouille. On the morrow, the king continued his march until he arrived on the borders of Germany ready to enter Juliers. But, before he had advanced ſo far, Arnold biſhop of Liege had waited on him, and had exerted himſelf much to exculpate the duke of Juliers, and to ſoften the anger the king of France bore him, as father to the duke of Gueldres, and had ſaid to the king and his uncles, that with regard to the imprudent and outrageous challenge the duke of Gueldres had ſent to France, he had never conſulted his father on the ſubject, nor informed him of it until it was done, and therefore his territories ought not to ſuffer for it.

Theſe excuſes, however, were not agreeable to the king nor to his uncles; and it was their inten-

* Baſtogne, or Baſtognack, is a ſmall town in the duchy of Luxembourg: it was formerly more conſiderable, and called the Paris of the Ardennes.

tion, that unless the duke of Juliers came in person, and made a more satisfactory apology, putting himself totally in the king's mercy, he and his country should be the first to pay for it.

The bishop of Liege, the barons of Hasbain*, and the magistrates from the principal towns, who had accompanied the bishop, now offered the king and his uncles a free entrance for their army into their country, to pass and repass, and refresh themselves with provision on paying for it, and to remain there, if they so pleased.

The king and his uncles thanked them for their offer, which they did not refuse, as they were ignorant how affairs would turn out. The bishop returned to the duke of Juliers and archbishop of Cologne, and told them all that had passed, that they might consider of it.

The duke of Juliers was very much alarmed lest his country should be ruined, and sent for all those knights that were dependant on him, to have their advice, for the French were daily approaching.—The lord de Coucy commanded the vanguard, of one thousand spears; and with him were the duke of Lorraine and the viscount de Meaux, with about two hundred lances more.

When the French were near the borders of Germany, they marched in a more compact body, and took great precautions in their encampments; for

* Hasbain, a small territory in the circle of Westphalia: it forms the principal part of the bishoprick of Liege.

a body of three hundred Linfars, from the opposite side of the Rhine, had collected together on their line of march. These are the greatest robbers and plunderers in the world; and they hovered alongside the french army, to take advantage of any negligence on their part. The French were suspicious of them, and dared not attempt foraging but in large bodies. I believe the lord Boucicaut, the elder, and sir Lewis de Grach were made prisoners by them, and carried to Nimeguen.— These Germans rode through bye ways, and, like birds of prey, night and morning fell upon the French wherever they found a favourable opportunity; and this had made them more careful.

When the king of France was come to the confines of Juliers, and the vanguard and foragers had already entered it, the duke, unwilling that his country should be destroyed, listened to the advice of the archbishop of Cologne and bishop of Liege, and consented they should negotiate with the king and his uncles, and entreat that his country should remain in peace, on such terms as I shall mention.

These two prelates, having laid the foundation for a peace, conducted the duke of Juliers into the king's presence, who was attended by his uncles, the duke of Lorraine and other great barons of France of the blood royal, and his council. On the duke's approaching the king, he cast himself on his knees, and made very handsome excuses for the challenge his son had sent to France. He told the king, that his son was a madman; that he had

never consulted him respecting this challenge, nor indeed in any thing else, but always acted for himself. He offered his services to the king, and said,—‘ My lord, with your permission, I will go to him, and sharply remonstrate with him on his fol-lies, and order him to come and make his apology to you and to your council. If he refuse to follow my advice, and continue to act from his own headstrong will, I offer to give you possession of all my inclosed towns and castles, for you to garrison with men at arms, and carry on the war against him until he shall submit himself to your mercy.’

The king, on this, looked at his brother, his uncles and council, as it seemed to him, and to many who were present, a very fair offer. He made the duke rise, who had hitherto continued on his knees, and said,—‘ We will consider what you have offered, and the promises you make us.’

The duke, having risen, remained with the two prelates who had brought him thither; and the king retired with his uncles and privy counsellors, to discuss the proposal that had been made them.

This council lasted some time, and various propositions were made, each pressing his different plan. The duke of Burgundy was the most active, as indeed the matter more essentially affected him, on account of his being heir, in right of his duchess, to the succession of the duchess of Brabant, and it was in truth owing to him that the king had undertaken this expedition. He was therefore very anxious that the quarrel should be amicably terminated, and a solid peace established
between

between all parties, that there might not be any necessity for renewing the war; for the distance was great for the king and lords, besides being very expensive, and heavy on the kingdom.

After several had given their opinions, he addressed himself to the king, to the duke of Berry, and to all present, saying,—‘ My lord, and you brother of Berry and gentlemen of the council, whatever is rashly or inconsiderately begun generally ends badly. We have heard our cousin, the duke of Juliers, excuse himself handsomely, and we have heard the offer he has made, that his son shall do so likewise: he is of that gallantry and birth, being connected with me by blood, that we ought to believe what he has said. He offers to the king his person, his country, his towns and castles, in case his son shall continue obstinate, and refuse to make any apology for his rash challenge. If we have the duke of Juliers on our side, the duke of Gueldres, whom we want to punish, will be so much the more weakened, that he will the more dread us, and the sooner bend to our will. I therefore advise that the excuses of the duke of Juliers and his offer be accepted, for he has greatly humbled himself; and the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Liege, with other potent barons, entreat likewise that this may be done.’

No one making any reply, it was unanimously agreed to; and the archbishop and bishop, who had opened the negotiation, were called in. They were told very minutely every act the duke of Juliers was to swear to perform, if he were desirous

this country should remain in peace. First, that he should go himself, or send to his son, the duke of Gueldres, to remonstrate with him on his folly and impertinence, in sending so unusual and rude a challenge to so powerful a prince as the king of France, and oblige him to come personally and submit himself to the mercy of the king, if he did not satisfactorily excuse himself. Should the duke of Gueldres refuse compliance, through pride and weakness of understanding, and persist in his opinion, then the duke of Juliers was to engage, on his oath, not to afford him the least support, but, on the contrary, to unite himself with his enemies, and to assist the army of the king, which, during the ensuing winter, would be quartered throughout the country of Juliers, in order to be ready to carry on the war against the duke of Gueldres; and all towns and castles, belonging to the duke of Juliers, shall receive, on the most friendly footing, the men at arms of France.

These two prelates, who had been solely called to the council to remonstrate touching these matters with the duke of Juliers, repeated to him what they had heard, adding such weighty reasons, that the duke assented to the terms: indeed, he saw he must do so, if he wished to preserve his country from ruin. He therefore solemnly swore to observe faithfully all the articles of the treaty, and to remain a firm friend to the king and to his uncles, for which his duchy was saved from being despoiled: but forage, of which there was enough, was completely given up to the French.

Thus

Thus did the duke of Juliers become liege man to the king of France, and paid homage for the territory of Vierfon, situated between Blois and Berry. He supped that night with the king: it was on a Thursday; and there were seated at the king's table, first, the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Cologne, the king, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Touraine, the duke of Juliers and the duke of Bourbon.

CHAP. XLIV.

KING CHARLES VI. QUARTERS HIS ARMY, ON A FRIENDLY FOOTING, IN THE DUCHY OF JULIERS.—A SQUIRE OF AUVERGNE IS MURDERED BY A WOODCUTTER WHOM HE IS LEADING AWAY AS HIS PRISONER.

SUCH was the conclusion of the treaties between the king of France and the duke of Juliers, by which the last enjoyed peace, although the king quartered himself and his army in his duchy, which he found a rich country, and full of every kind of provision.

The duke of Juliers went to his son, but not immediately, and in the interval some gallant feats of arms were done; for the Germans were so eager of gain, that they frequently, during the night, or
at

at very early morn, beat up the quarters of the French: sometimes they got the advantage, at other times they were made prisoners; but for one German that was taken, they made four Frenchmen prisoners in return. In consequence, the constable of France, the lord de Coucy, the duke of Lorraine, the marshal de Blainville, sir John de Vienne and the lord de la Trimouille, assembled their men, to the amount of about four thousand men at arms, and marched toward a town in Gueldres called Remogne*, and drew up in handsome array before it.

At this time the duke of Gueldres was within it, and thought highly of their appearance; but he made no folly against them, for his force was not equal to attempt it, which vexed him much. The french men at arms remained four hours drawn up in order of battle before the place; but when they saw that none came out to oppose them, they retreated to their quarters.

It happened that this same evening several knights and squires assembled at the lodgings of the duke of Berry, with the intent of making an excursion on the morrow into the enemy's country in search of adventures. They each, to the amount of about one hundred lances, pledged themselves to this; but, when the morning came, the project was broken off. A squire from Auvergne, called Godinos, a valiant man at arms, and serving under the

* Remogne. Q.

banner of the lord d'Alégre, finding this excursion laid aside, was much vexed thereat; and, speaking of it to some of his companions of as good courage as himself, they collected about thirty spears, and rode out that morning, but met with no adventure.

Godinos was so desirous of feats of arms, that he felt sorely the disappointment of returning without having struck a blow, and said to his companions,—‘ Do you ride on gently, while I and my page will skirt this wood, to see if there be any ambuscades, or any persons within it, and wait for me at the foot of yonder hill.’ Having assented to this, Godinos and his page left them, and rode alongside the wood. They had not advanced far, when he heard some one whistle: he instantly stuck spurs into his horse, and came to a hollow road, where he found a Gueldrelander squaring timber. Godinos seized his spear, and charged the man full gallop, to his great astonishment, and made signs to him to follow him; for he said to himself,—‘ At least, I shall show to my companions, that I have done something by making this man my prisoner, and he may be of some use to us in our quarters.’

He now set out on his return, riding on a small hackney, followed by the woodman on foot, with a large axe on his shoulder with which he had been working. The page of Godinos was behind, mounted on his courser, bearing his helmet and dragging his lance, half asleep from having left his bed too early. The German, who knew not whither

ther he was going, nor what might be done to him, thought he might as well attempt to escape: he therefore advanced close to Godinos, and with his uplifted axe smote him such a blow on the head as ~~split his skull to the teeth~~, and laid him dead on the ground. The page, from his distance and sleepiness, neither saw nor heard any thing of the matter; and the peasant ran to hide himself in the wood, from which he was not far off.

Those who heard of this unfortunate accident were much distressed; for Godinos was well beloved by all who knew him, particularly by his countrymen in Auvergne, for he was the man at arms most dreaded by the English, and the person who had done them most mischief. He would never have been suffered to remain a prisoner, though twenty thousand francs had been asked for his ransom.

We will now return to the duke of Juliers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLV.

THE DUKE OF JULIERS AND ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE LEAVE THE KING OF FRANCE, AND GO TO THE DUKE OF GUELDRES AT NIMEGUEN.—BY THEIR REMONSTRANCES AND NEGOTIATIONS, HE OBTAINS PEACE WITH THE KING OF FRANCE AND DUCHESS OF BRABANT.

YOU have before heard how the duke of Juliers made his peace with the king of France, through the mediation of the two prelates already mentioned and the duke of Lorraine his cousin, who had taken great pains in the business, and gone to seek him in the town of Atdeke*, whence he had brought him, with the archbishop of Cologne, to a conference with the king of France and his uncles. The duke had then promised to oblige his son, the duke of Gueldres, to submit himself to the king, otherwise he was to unite with the king in his war against him. These terms he was forced to comply with, or his duchy would have been destroyed.

The duke of Juliers, having made his prepara-

* Atdeke. Q.

tions, set out with the archbishop of Cologne for Gueldres, and, having crossed the river Waal, arrived at Nimeguen, where the duke of Gueldres then resided. He received them most affectionately, as was but right, for what tie is nearer than that of father or mother. He had before heard that the duke of Juliers had made his peace with the king of France, which was not very pleasing to him, but he had no occasion to shew his dislike to it.

The duke of Juliers and the archbishop remonstrated with him for some time on the situation he and his country were in. At first, he paid not any attention; for he had so strongly connected himself with the king of England he could not immediately break it off, nor had he any inclination so to do, for his heart was devoted to the English.

He argued the matter with them obstinately, declaring he would abide the event; and if, from the arrival of the king of France with an army, he should suffer any loss, he was young, and might at other times revenge himself on France or on the Brabanters their allies; adding, that in war the chances are uncertain, and no prince can undertake one without expecting loss as well as gain.

This language greatly enraged the duke of Juliers, who said, 'William, how will you carry on this war? and from whom do you expect compensation for your losses?' 'The king of England and his power,' replied he; 'and I am very much astonished I have had no intelligence of their fleet; for if they had kept their engagement, by which
they

they were to come hither, I would more than once have beaten up the french quarters.' 'Do you wait for them, William?' asked the duke of Juliers. 'The English have so much on their hands at this moment, they cannot give you any assistance. There is our cousin, the duke of Lancaster, at Bayonne, who has left Castille with the shattered remains of his army, having lost the greater part by sickness, and by that the season for making war. He is soliciting reinforcements of men at arms and archers from England, but will not obtain twenty spears. On the other hand, the English have lately experienced a severe overthrow in battle with the Scots near Newcastle on Tyne, in Northumberland, in which all the chivalry of the north have been made prisoners or slain. England, besides, is not unanimous in their affection to the king: you will therefore act wisely not to depend on the English at this moment, for you will not have assistance from them, nor from any other quarter. I would therefore advise that you suffer us to manage for you, and we will pacify the king of France, and make up this quarrel without your being dishonoured or a loser from it.'

'My lord,' answered the duke of Gueldres, 'how can I with honour accommodate my difference with the king of France? Were I to have my country ruined, and be forced to go and live elsewhere, I would not do it: I am too strongly bound to the king of England; and for him have I defied the king of France. Do you think,' added he, 'that for his menaces I will recal my word, or
break

break my engagement? You only wish my disgrace. I entreat you, therefore, to leave me to myself: I will make head against the French, for their threats do not alarm me. The rain, wind and cold weather will make war for me; and, before the month of January be arrived, they will be so tired and worn down, that the boldest among them will wish to be at home.'

Neither the duke of Juliers nor the archbishop of Cologne could, at this first interview, prevail on the duke of Gueldres to change his resolution, though they were six days labouring at it, and daily in council. At length the duke of Juliers, finding his arguments of no avail, was so angry, as to say to him, 'that if he did not pay more attention to his advice, he would displease him greatly, insomuch that he should never inherit one foot of his duchy of Juliers, which he would dispose of to another, who should be powerful enough to defend it against him;' adding, 'that none but a fool refused counsel.'

The duke of Gueldres, seeing his father inflamed with passion, replied, by way of softening matters, — 'Advise me then how with honour I may act; and since you desire it, from my love to you, I will pay attention to it; for I assuredly owe you all obedience, and shall never in that be wanting.' — 'Now,' said the duke of Juliers, 'you speak well and to the purpose, and we will consider the matter.'

It was then determined, after many and long consultations, that the duke of Gueldres should
wait

wait on the king of France, and pay him the honour and respect befitting so great a prince, and should excuse himself for having sent him such a challenge, in similar words to these,—‘ My lord, it is very true that a letter, sealed with my signet, was sent into France and delivered to you, in which was contained a challenge drawn up in very outrageous terms, and contrary to such as are generally used in the like cases, when princes or lords defy each other ; but this I disavow, as never having been uttered from my mouth, nor written by my commands, as I would be far from defaming your name or rank. For the confirmation of what I now say, and to remove all doubts, I must inform you, that, at the desire of my much-redoubted lord, the king of England, and his council, with whom I have entered into very close alliance, I sent to England four of my knights, to whom I intrusted my signet, for them to seal whatever might be required of them. They were to write and seal, and not I : so that I never knew the contents of the letter sent to France until it had been sealed. Be pleased, therefore, to accept of this as my apology, for it is the truth. With regard to my oath of allegiance to my redoubted lord, the king of England, I am resolved to adhere to it, and to obey, as far as in me lies, whatever he may command, whether to challenge you, and assemble my forces, wherever he may please, to oppose you or any other prince, excepting my natural lord, the emperor of Germany ; for to him I have personally sworn my homage in the fullest manner. But
out

out of respect and honour to you, and as some recompense for the trouble and charges you have had, in coming to this distance, to learn the truth of this challenge, I am willing to swear, and that oath I will punctually keep, that, henceforward, I will never make any war upon you nor your kingdom without having first given you one year's notice of my intention; and, my lord, I hope you will think this sufficient.'

The duke of Gueldres replied, that all this he would willingly say; for it did not seem to him to convey any thing blameable or dishonourable.

Upon this being settled, the duke of Juliers and the archbishop departed, and returned to Juliers, and thence to Endesker*. At a proper season they waited on the king of France, and related to him and his uncles every particular which had passed between them and the duke of Gueldres; and, that the matter might be immediately considered, they added, there could not any thing more be obtained from his son.

The king of France was so desirous to see his cousin the duke of Gueldres, who had given him such trouble, that he assented to the terms of the treaty. The duke of Burgundy was also anxious that the territories of the dukes of Brabant should remain in peace, and took pains that this treaty should be agreed to, and that the duke of Gueldres, on the strength of it, should come to them.

* Endesker. Q.

There was also another reason for their consenting to it : winter was approaching, and the nights were already cold and long. The french lords were told that Gueldres was a miserable country to winter in ; and they daily received information of losses of knights, squires and horses, that had been captured by the ambushes of these Linfars.

From all these reasons, matters were so far concluded that the duke of Gueldres came to the french camp, and was introduced by the duke of Juliers his father, the duke of Lorraine his cousin, and the archbishop of Cologne, to the king's tent. There were present, at this interview, the king's uncles, his brother the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bar, the count de la Marche, the count de St. Pol, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, the lord de Coucy and the constable of France. On his entrance, the duke of Gueldres cast himself on his knees before the king ; but I heard that the king made him rise, (in this matter, however, I know nothing but what I learnt from others), and that he boldly excused himself for the challenge, in the terms you have before heard. The king accepted his apology ; and he then declared, on his oath, that if he were ever again to challenge or make war on France, he would send notice of it one year beforehand. Thus did Gueldres and Brabant remain in a secure state, and those who had expected the most were the greatest losers.

Every thing being now settled, the duke of Gueldres supped with the king of France at his table ; and I must say he was much looked at, for the
great

great plague he had given them. These treaties were fairly written and sealed ; and, when all was done, the lords took leave of each other : but, before the duke of Gueldres departed, he requested that the prisoners the French had made in this war might be given up, which was agreed to in the manner he desired. The king of France demanded that all prisoners made from him should likewise be set at liberty ; but the duke of Gueldres excused himself, saying,—‘ My lord, that cannot be done : I am a poor man, and when I heard of your march hither, I strengthened myself as much as possible with knights from the other side of the Rhine and elsewhere, agreeing with them, that every thing they might take should be their own property. It is not possible for me, therefore, to despoil them of what I have given, nor have I the power so to do ; and, should I attempt it, they would make war upon me. Be pleased, therefore, to let this matter remain as it is, for I cannot remedy it.’

The king, perceiving he could not obtain any thing more, bore it as well as he could, without adding a word in reply, and comforted himself on the greatness of his power that could enrich so many poor persons. They took leave of each other mutually satisfied, and orders were given for the army to march back to France. It was said, the king would hold the feast of All-saints in the city of Rheims.

I will now say a word of the english fleet.

CHAP. XLVI.

THE EARL OF ARUNDEL AND HIS FLEET ARE DRIVEN
BY STORMS TO LA PALICE, NEAR LA ROCHELLE.
—THE LORD LEWIS DE SANCERRE, HAVING HAD
INFORMATION OF THIS, CHACES THEM AT SEA,
BUT IN VAIN.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MAR-
RIES HIS DAUGHTER TO THE HEIR OF CASTILLE.

BEFORE the king of France went to Gueldres,
and during the time he was there, the english
fleet under the command of the earl of Arundel
kept hovering along his coasts, just as the wind
drove them, in search of adventures. You must
know, that generally from the first of October to
All-saints day the weather is stormy; but this year
it was unusually so, which shattered the english
fleet, and there was no seaman on board, however
bold he might be, but was frightened at its vio-
lence, which forced the ships to run to any port
lest worse might befall them.

The earl of Arundel, with twenty-seven other
vessels, made for the harbour of la Palice, two
leagues distant from la Rochelle, where he anchor-
ed: indeed, he was forced so to do, for the wind
was contrary and he could not leave it. When
news was brought of this to la Rochelle, the

We will now return to the duke of Lancaster, and speak of his negotiations with the king of Castille and duke of Berry respecting the marriage of his daughter. The king of Castille was desirous of having her for his son, as the means of peace with England. The duke of Berry wished her for himself, being very impatient to marry her.

The duke of Lancaster was wise and prudent : he saw that the most advantageous alliance for himself and for his country was Castille, in preference to the duke of Berry ; for by it he should recover the inheritance of Castille for his daughter, in times to come. If he gave her to the duke of Berry, and he should die before her, she would be poor in comparison with other ladies ; for the duke had children by his first marriage, who would be entitled to all his landed property. The duchess of Lancaster was likewise more inclined to the connection with Castille, so that when sir Helion de Lignac had left the duke, on his return to the duke of Berry in Germany, the commissioners from the king of Castille came forward, and pushed the matter so warmly, that the marriage was agreed and sworn to, between the lady Catherine and the son of the king of Castille. Proper contracts were drawn up and sealed, with covenants to prevent any danger of breaking off the match ; and the duchess consented, when the whole should be concluded, to conduct her daughter into Castille.

del and the english knights lying at anchor, than to continue the siege, for he could again return to this at his pleasure.

He came to la Rochelle, followed by a large body of knights and squires. I know not by what means, but the earl of Arundel had information at la Palice, that the marshal of France with a powerful company of knights and squires was marching to attack him. The news was not very agreeable to him; but fortunately the weather had become calm, and he instantly gave orders to weigh anchor and put to sea. This was speedily effected: had they waited longer they would have been surrounded within the haven, and every one of his vessels must necessarily have been taken, for not one could have escaped.

The galleys from la Rochelle, fully armed with cannons and other artillery, appeared in sight, steering for la Palice, as the English were under sail. They chased them two leagues, saluting them with their cannon, but dared not follow them further, for fear of the dangers of the sea. They therefore returned to la Rochelle; but the marshal of France was much angered against them, for having been so tardy to inform him of the arrival of the enemy.

The earl of Arundel failed for the mouth of the Garonne, to repair to Bordeaux; and the siege of Bouteville was put an end to, for William de Sainte Foix, during the time the marshal had gone, as he thought, to fight the English, had provided his castle with all things necessary for a long defence.

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CHAP. XLVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE, WHILE ON THE FRONTIERS OF JULIERS, HAS PART OF HIS CAMP SURPRISED, AND SEVERAL PRISONERS MADE, BY SOME GERMAN PILLAGERS,—THE KING, BEING TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, TAKES ON HIMSELF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS KINGDOM,—HE SENDS TO THE KING OF CASTILLE, ON HEARING OF THE MARRIAGE OF HIS SON WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, TO REMONSIRATE WITH HIM NOT TO ENTER INTO ANY TREATIES THAT MAY BE PREJUDICIAL TO HIM OR TO HIS KINGDOM.

THE king of France was still on the borders of Juliers, (for you have heard on what grounds peace had been made between him and the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres) though on his march with the army back to France, when one clear moonlight night, as they were encamped on the confines of Germany, some german robbers, who would never accept of any terms of peace, made, about midnight, an attack on the French. These men were under the lord de Blanquenemen and fir Peter de Cronbech, and came well mounted, to observe where they could make the severest attack on the camp. They passed the quarters of the viscount de Meaux, but found him and his men on their guard; and, having gone backward and forward without saying

saying a word, they returned, to give an account to their leaders, at their ambuscade, of what they had seen.

Shortly after, a large body of these Germans made an irruption on the french camp, overthrowing I know not how many, and making fourteen men at arms prisoners. The lord de la Vieville and the lord de Montkarel were among the number, in consequence of great neglect in not having placed sufficient guards. When it was known, on the morrow, that these two lords were made prisoners, the army were much vexed at it, and ever afterward were more attentive to their guards.

When the king left Juliers, none of the garrisons remained behind: sir William de la Trimouille and sir Gervais de Merande joined him, and the Brabanters retired to their own homes.

While on the march, and immediately on the king's return to France, it was determined, by great deliberation of the council, that the king, who had, since the death of his father, been under the management of his uncles, should now take on himself the government of the kingdom, which his uncles must resign into his hands, as they had enough to do elsewhere, and the king had now entered his twenty-first year. When this was made public, it gave universal satisfaction.

I believe the king, with his uncles and brother, kept the feast of All-saints at Rheims; and that there they first heard of peace being made between the king of Castille and duke of Lancaster, and of the marriage of the lady Catherine with the infant.

The

The king of France laughed and joked much with his uncle, the duke of Berry, saying,—‘ Fair uncle, you have failed in your intended marriage, for another has seized the lady you meant for your bride. What do you say to this? How does your courage stand?’ The duke good-humouredly replied, —‘ My lord, if I have been disappointed in this, I will address myself elsewhere.’

Those present began to murmur about this marriage, and to say, it had not been concluded without some treaties of alliance having been formed which might be very prejudicial hereafter to France; ‘ for,’ added some who seemed to be fully aware of the consequences, ‘ should England, Castille and Portugal unite, and make war upon us, they would be enabled to do us very serious mischief by sea and land. It will be right for the king of France to send some discreet person to prevent this wicked king, who has thus connected himself with a dead man, (for the duke of Lancaster has neither money nor men) from entering into any treaties without the consent of the council of France; otherwise to say, the king would reduce him to the state of the lowest varlet with the same ease with which he had raised him to his present state; for at this moment he has no ally strong enough to support him. A war with Castille would now come very opportunely; and, after dethroning this wicked king, the son of a bastard, the king might bestow the crown on his brother, the duke of Touraine, who is not over rich: he would govern it wisely, and defend it valiantly. How could this
king

king of Castille think of entering into any treaty whatever with the duke of Lancaster unknown to our king, who has so generously assisted him in his distress; and, had it not been for the blood of France, he must have lost his realm. He bargains well, and has now done so; but let it be as we say, and he will be deserted and disgraced; and, in God's name, let such an envoy be sent thither as will be attended to, and make him feel how very ill he has behaved.'

These murmurings increased so much that the king, his uncles and council deliberated whom they should send to remonstrate with the king of Castille, that he enter not, at his peril, into treaties with the duke of Lancaster and the English any way detrimental to the crown of France. If he had done so, or intended it, he was to be told, that the power of France would debase him as much, if not more than it had exalted him, and that the king and his country would not attend to any other thing before they had completed his destruction. It was long debated who would be the properest person to send thither; for it was agreed it should be some one of courage and well spoken, as it would be fruitless sending simple persons on such a message. Three were named; the lord de Coucy, sir John de Vienne admiral of France, and sir Guy de la Trimouille, and either of these three would be fully qualified to go to Castille. Having considered all things, they chose sir John de Vienne; and it was told him, on the part of the king and his council,—‘Admiral, make your preparations

tions for a journey to Castille: you will have no other than credential letters, for it is enough that you are master of the subject on which you are sent. Tell the king of Castille to read or have read to him all the treaties of alliances, and promises of friendship, which have been formed and sworn to between the two crowns; and remember well all the answers you may receive from him or his ministers on this subject, that we may regulate our conduct accordingly.' All this, the admiral said, he would studiously attend to.

The admiral was not long in making preparations for his journey, and, having taken leave of the king and his uncles, left Paris, taking the road towards Burgundy; for he was desirous of visiting the pope and his brother at Avignon, which he did.

We will now for a while leave him, and say something of Geoffry Tête-noir and the siege of Ventadour, in which he was inclosed; but we must first speak of the duke of Berry, whose impatience to marry again was shewn within the year, when he took to himself a wife, of whom I shall speak, and say who she was, and where he was married,

CHAP. XLVIII.

THE DUKE OF BERRY, BEING DISAPPOINTED IN HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, SENDS TO THE COUNT DE FOIX TO DEMAND THE DAUGHTER OF THE COUNT DE BOULOGNE, WHOM HE HAD IN WARDSHIP.

THE duke of Berry, having been disappointed in marrying the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, was told that the count de Boulogne had a beautiful daughter called Jane, by the lady Eleanor de Comminges ; that she was not with her father nor mother, but in the country of Béarn with his good friend and cousin the count de Foix ; that she had been educated by the count, in his castle of Orchès, for the space of nine years, and he had the wardship of all her property ; and that the father and mother had not any way interfered since she had been under the care of the count, nor had the young lady cost them any thing ; that she had been often demanded in marriage, but the count de Foix had turned a deaf ear, saying, she was yet too young, and in particular by sir Bernard, brother to the count d'Armagnac, who had repeatedly pressed the matter, promising, on the accomplishment of this marriage, to put an end to his war on
Béarn

Béarn and his claims on that country, Notwithstanding these fair promises, the count would not listen to him, but said that his cousin was too young.

He gave, however, other reasons to his confidential friends, and said to sir Espaign du Lyon,— ‘ These Armagnacs must think me a great fool, when they ask me to consent to my destruction. If I give them my cousin, I shall add to their strength, and weaken myself. They already withhold from her by force her inheritance, in right of her mother, of Comminges; for the count de Boulogne is as nobody to oppose them.’

When the count d’Armagnac and his brother, sir Bernard, found they could not succeed, they spoke to the duke of Berry, during the life of their aunt, his first duchess, that it would be a good match for his son, John of Berry.

The duke, in consequence, had sent properly-qualified persons to the count de Foix in Béarn, to entreat that all former animosities might be forgiven and forgotten, and that he would consent to the marriage of his cousin and ward with his son John; for that the count de Boulogne, her father, was very well satisfied that it should take place.

The count entertained the envoys handsomely, but excused himself for not complying with their demand, as the lady was too young; and because he had most solemnly promised and sworn to the countess her mother, when she delivered her into his hands, that he would never betroth her to any person whatever without her knowledge. He
would

would therefore keep his oath, and no one ought to attempt to make him break it. These were the excuses the count made; for he knew well that his cousin, the countess of Comminges, who resided with her brother, the count d'Urguel, in Arragon, would never consent to her daughter's marriage with any one connected with the Armagnacs.

The ambassadors from the duke of Berry returned, therefore, unsuccessfully; and in their absence the count de Foix said, (as I learnt from sir Espaign du Lyon)—‘The duke of Berry and his advisers must think me very weak and ignorant, when they propose that I should reinforce my enemies. John of Berry is cousin to my adversaries, the Armagnacs: this match I will never consent to, and had much rather marry her in England; and I have already had proposals from Henry of Lancaster, son to the duke of Lancaster. If I were not afraid of too much angering the king of France, no one else should have my cousin. At this moment I know not how to act; but I will marry her to my own satisfaction, to prevent any of the Armagnacs having her against my will; for, as the whole depends on my determination, I have no occasion to be melancholy, or to be very anxious on this subject.’

When the duke of Berry knew for certain that the duke of Lancaster intended marrying his daughter with the infant of Castille, and that there were no hopes of breaking it off, he was so pensive and melancholy for five or six days, that those of his nearest relations inquired the cause of it. Having
opened

opened his mind to them, and complained of his disappointment, his council replied,—‘ Sir, if you have failed with the lady Catherine of Lancaster, you may be more successful in another quarter, with the daughter of a great lord, and who, in due time, will be a considerable heiress, though at this moment she is a little too young for your time of life; and I know not if the count de Foix will not on this account refuse his consent.’ ‘ Is she the daughter of the count de Boulogne?’ asked the duke. ‘ Yes, my lord.’ ‘ In God’s name,’ replied the duke, ‘ let us make the trial.’

It was not long after this before he wrote to the count de Foix to signify to him, in the most friendly manner, that he would send him four knights of high quality, such as the count de Sancerre, the lord de la Riviere, sir Guy de la Trimouille and the viscount d’Affy, to treat with him for his ward, the daughter of the count de Boulogne, in marriage; and these lords were of such importance, as to justify him in putting implicit faith in them; but he begged of him to send him a speedy answer to his letter, that these knights might not undertake a commission that would be unsuccessful.

The count de Foix received handsomely the messengers who brought this letter, and wrote back by them to the duke of Berry, that he was very happy in the proposals he had made, and was ready to receive the four knights either in Foix or in Béarn; but that the consent of the count and countess de Boulogne must first be had.

The duke of Berry was well pleased on receiving

ing such an answer, and negotiated with one and another, during the winter, that his marriage might take place in the course of the summer. The business, notwithstanding, was not so soon accomplished ; for the duke of Berry knew well that the count de Foix was not a person to act hastily, and that there would be many questions and replies before the matter could be expected to be brought to a conclusion. He therefore prudently carried on the treaty, by sending special messengers to pope Clement, who was nearly related to the young lady.

The pope was rejoiced at hearing his cousin would be so highly connected as with the duke of Berry, uncle to the king of France ; and he wrote, in consequence, to the count de Foix, to notify to him in an honourable manner, that he would not on any account this proposal should be rejected, for their families would be made by it.

The count de Foix received letters from all quarters ; for he could, on such occasions, well dissemble his real sentiments, and yet retain the affections of all, the pope as well as the duke of Berry ; but there were none so wise among them, that knew what were the count's real thoughts.

We will now leave this matter, and return to the siege of Ventadour.

CHAP. XLIX.

GEOFFRY TÊTE-NOIR IS WOUNDED IN THE HEAD,
AT A SKIRMISH, AND COMMITS EXCESSES WHICH
CAUSE HIS DEATH.—HE MAKES A WILL, AND
SUBSTITUTES TWO GOVERNORS OF VENTADOUR
IN HIS ROOM.

YOU have before heard how sir William de Lignac and sir John Bonne-lance, with many knights and squires from Auvergne and Limousin, had besieged the castle of Ventadour, and Geoffry Tête-noir within it. It was so strong, that it could not be taken by storm; and he had lain in such stores of all things, as to secure a sufficiency for seven or eight years, without any thing new being added. The besiegers, who had surrounded it with blockhouses, came at times to skirmish at the barriers; and it happened that, at one of these, Geoffry Tête-noir advanced so far that he was struck on the head by a bolt from a cross-bow, which passed through the helmet and cap underneath, and wounded him so severely as to occasion him to be carried to his bed. His companions were much vexed at this, and, during the time he was in this state, all skirmishing ceased.

Had he taken proper care of himself, he would have soon been cured of this wound; but he indulged

indulged himself in many excesses, particularly in fornication, for which he paid dearly enough by his death. He was warned of the consequences of this conduct, and told that he was in so dangerous a condition, (the wound having become an imposthume) that it was necessary he should settle his affairs. He did, and made his will in the way I shall relate.

He ordered the principal persons of his garrison, and those who had been the most used to arms, into his presence; and when they were come, he said to them, sitting up in his bed,—‘ My fair sons, and companions in arms, I know I am in great danger of death: we have been a long time together, and I have been a loyal captain to you all, to the utmost of my power; I should wish, therefore, to see, before I quit this world, my successor appointed, who would gallantly behave himself towards you and defend this castle, which I shall leave plentifully stocked with all necessary things, such as wines, provision and artillery. I therefore beg you will tell me if you have taken any steps, or have thought of electing any one able to govern and lead you as men at arms ought to be governed and led, for such has been my manner of carrying on the war; and in truth I cared not against whom. I did indeed make it under shadow of the king of England’s name, in preference to any other; but I have always looked for gain and conquest wherever they may be had; and such should ever be the conduct of adventurous companions, who are for deeds of arms and to advance themselves.

‘ This

‘ This country is very fertile : many good compositions have been made with it, though the French now check them by their war ; but this cannot always last, for their blockhouses and siege must have an end. Now, tell me truly, have any of you thought of the person who is to succeed me ?’

The companions remaining silent, he again addressed them with the utmost good humour, saying,—‘ I can easily believe you have had some conversations together on what I have mentioned ; and I also, during the time I have been forced to keep my bed, have thought on this matter for you.’

‘ Sir,’ replied they, ‘ we refer the matter to you ; and it will be more agreeable if it came from you than from us : you will therefore be pleased to inform us of your will.’

‘ Yes,’ said Geoffry, ‘ I will tell you, and name those I wish to succeed me. Here is Alleyn Roux and his brother Peter, my cousins, who are good men at arms and of my blood : I entreat you, therefore, to accept of Alleyn as your governor, and that you will swear to him, in my presence, loyalty and obedience, as well as to his brother ; but I mean that Alleyn should have the sovereign command.’ ‘ Sir,’ answered they, ‘ we will cheerfully do so, for you have well chosen.’

All the companions then took oaths of obedience to Alleyn Roux, and to his brother Peter. When this was done, Geoffry Tête-noir again addressed them : ‘ Well, my friends, you have complied with my request, and I thank you for it. Because

I, with you should partake of what you have helped me to conquer, I must inform you, that in that chest which you see yonder (pointing to it with his finger), there is a sum of thirty thousand francs. I would acquit my conscience and myself towards those who have faithfully served me: say, therefore, if you will truly fulfil the articles of my will.' Having said they would, he continued: 'In the first place, I leave to the chapel of St. George, within our walls, the sum of fifteen hundred francs for repairs and additional buildings. I give to my mistress, who has been faithfully attached to me, two thousand five hundred francs—To Alleyn Roux, your governor, two thousand francs—To my valets de chambre, five hundred francs—To my officers, fifteen hundred francs. The surplus I thus dispose of: you are about thirty companions, all engaged in the same enterprise, and you should behave like brothers to each other, without envy, riot or strife. The sum I have mentioned you will find in the chest: divide it, therefore, among you fairly and honourably; but should the devil get among you, and you cannot agree, here is a well tempered sharp axe, cut open the chest, and let those who can, seize the contents.'

To this speech, they unanimously replied,—
 'Lord and master, we will not disagree. We have so much loved and feared you, we will never break the chest, nor disobey any of the orders you have given us.'

Such as I have related was the last will of Geoffrey Tête-noir, who only lived two days more, and
 was

was buried in the chapel of Saint George in Ventadour. All his legacies were paid, and the overplus divided among them according to his orders, and Alleyn Roux with his brother Peter were obeyed as governors of the castle.

The blockade, however, was not for this raised, nor were the skirmishes less frequent. The french knights and squires of Auvergne and Limoufin were rejoiced at the death of Geoffry Tête-noir, and were not so much afraid of those he had left behind, for he had been a most active and successful captain in war and in forming garrisons.

We will now return to the duke of Gueldres for a short time, and say what befel him at this season; having already mentioned the trouble he had given to the king of France and his uncles, by forcing them to march to the borders of his country, and then to return without doing him any considerable damage.

CHAP. L.

THE DUKE OF GUELDRS IS MADE PRISONER IN PRUSSIA; AND, THOUGH DELIVERED BY THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER, HE RETURNS TO KEEP HIS FAITH TO THE PERSON WHO HAD TAKEN HIM.

WHEN the duke of Gueldres perceived that the whole army of France had retreated, and that peace was established with the dukes of Brabant and his other enemies by means of the treaties, the particulars of which you have heard related: one of the articles being understood to have been the surrender of the town of Grave within the year, on such conditions as had been agreed on between him, the duke of Burgundy and dukes of Brabant, and when he found he had now nothing to do at home, under these circumstances, I say, he resolved to make an excursion into Prussia.

He made preparations accordingly, and, accompanied by many knights and squires of his own and other countries, began his journey thither about the octave of Saint Martin, taking his road through Germany. Wherever he passed, he was handsomely received, and arrived on the territory of Prussia. I know not how it happened, but he and
his

his company were waylaid in the plains, and attacked by a body of men at arms, of whom he had not the least suspicion, and for that reason they were overpowered. They lost their arms, horses, gold and silver plate, and were carried prisoners to a town hard by, where all who could ransom themselves did so: particularly the duke of Gueldres pledged himself to a squire called Arurant; his surname I am ignorant of; and then the duke of Gueldres and his company were led to a strong town of the duke de Stulpe*, not that the duke was there in person.

When the grand master and knights of the teutonic order heard that the duke of Gueldres had been attacked and made prisoner on his road to Prussia, they were exceedingly enraged, and said it should not remain unpunished, otherwise they would be greatly blamed. They instantly issued their summons for the attendance of their vassals, and marched with a large force of men at arms from Commisberg† to the town wherein the duke of Gueldres was detained prisoner.

The squire who had made the duke prisoner,

* Duke of Stulpe. Q. if not Ulrick, grand master of the teutonic order; but, on looking into the list of grand masters, I find that Weinrich de Knippenrode, G. M. died - 1382
 Conrad Zœlner de Rodenstein, - - - 1390
 Conrad de Wallenrod, - - - - - 1394
 Conrad de Jungingen, - - - - - 1407
 Ulrick, killed in battle, - - - - - 1410

† Commisberg. Q. Koningberg.

having

having heard of this expedition, was alarmed for the consequences, and determined to leave the castle, as ill might befall him should he be taken; but before he departed he waited on the duke of Gueldres, and thus spoke: 'Duke of Gueldres, you are my prisoner, and I am your master. You, as a gentleman, have pledged your faith and oath, that wherever I should please to go, thither you would follow me. I know not if you have sent for the grand master of the teutonic order, but he is marching hither in such force that I do not think it prudent to wait for him. Do you remain, if you please, but I shall carry away your faith with me.' To this the duke of Gueldres making no reply, the squire departed, and, having mounted his horse, rode off to a castle of greater strength; but, on his going away, he added, 'You will find me at such a place,' and named to him the castle, which was very strong, and far from all roads.

He was no sooner gone than the grand master arrived with a considerable force: no one issued forth to oppose him: and, had he found the squire within, he would infallibly have put him to death. He therefore returned to Koningberg, carrying the duke of Gueldres with him.

I will relate what was the end of this event; for in whatever country it was told, and especially in Germany, it was variously spoken of, to the great astonishment of all lords who heard it. When the duke of Gueldres arrived at Koningberg, having obtained his liberty in the manner I have said, he considered that he had pledged his faith to return
to

to the squire who had made him prisoner : likewise remembering what the squire had said on his departure, he was much cast down, and thought himself bounden in honour to acquit himself loyally towards him. He therefore told the grand master he could not longer remain with him; nor for any dispensation or absolution would give up his intention of surrendering himself to his master in the castle where he had been appointed to do so; which every one considered as an act of great honour.

When this came to the ears of his relations and subjects in Gueldres, they treated for his liberty, which they obtained through the means of the duke of Stulpe, who took much pains in the business; but, before the duke would consent to his enlargement, he made the duke of Gueldres swear, that neither himself, his heirs, nor any person attached to him, would ever seek open or private revenge for the insult he had received. Thus was the duke of Gueldres set at liberty; but in the year 1388 did this misfortune befall him. Let us return to Sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and relate what he said from the king of France to the king of Castille.

CHAP. LL

SIR JOHN DE VIENNE, HAVING RECEIVED HIS ANSWER FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE, RETURNS TO FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER PROCEEDS IN THE MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER TO THE INFANT OF CASTILLE.—THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, HAVING MADE SOME CRUISES ON THE COASTS OF NORMANDY, RETURNS WITH HIS FLEET TO ENGLAND.

THE admiral of France continued his journey until he arrived in Castille, when he inquired where the king resided. He was answered, 'Most commonly at Burgos,' whither he then rode. Having dismounted at his inn, he made himself ready to go to the palace; but as soon as the king's household heard of his arrival, he was visited by them, most honourably, according to the custom of the country, from their attachment to the king of France, to whom they held themselves much indebted, and he was conducted to the king's apartment. Sir John was kindly greeted by the king, to whom he gave his letters. The king took them, and called his council aside, when, having read and considered them, they found he had full powers given him, and sir John was called and bade to explain

plain the cause of his coming. He, who was ready prepared, thus spoke, in handsome language :

‘ Sir king, and you gentlemen of his council, the king of France sends me hither, on account of the marriage which he has heard is about to take place between your son and the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, who is, as you know, his enemy. The king of France and his ministers are greatly at a loss to conceive how you could think of entering into any treaty of marriage, or other engagement, without their being made acquainted with it ; for they say truly, that no union can be formed between children without great intimacy and affection of the parents being the consequences. They therefore tell you, by my mouth, to be careful not to enter into any treaties that may be prejudicial to the king of France ; and that those, so solemnly sworn to be observed by the late king Henry, your father, the prelates, nobles and cities of the realm, be no way infringed, otherwise you will incur the pain of excommunication from the pope, and the indignation of the king and barons of France, whom you will find, to your disgrace, your most bitter enemies. This is what I am ordered to say to you from the king of France and his council.’

When the king of Castille and those present heard such a reproachful message from the king of France, they were so much astonished, that they looked at each other, but not one attempted to make any reply. A bishop, however, who happened to be there, made the following answer :

‘ Sir

‘ Sir John, you are newly arrived in this country, and the king and ourselves are glad to see you, and bid you welcome. Fair sir, the king has perfectly heard and understood your message, and you shall shortly, within a day or two, have such an answer as will give you satisfaction.’ ‘ It is enough,’ replied sir John de Vienne, who then took leave of the king and council and returned to his lodgings. It was reported to me that he remained seven days without having any answer; that there was very great dissembling on this occasion, and he became quite melancholy, for he never saw the king, but remained in his apartment, scarcely visited by any one. Sir John de Vienne, noticing this delay, spoke of it to some of the council, whom he sometimes saw, declaring he would return without the answer. They suspected he would keep his word and do as he said, for in truth such was his intention. He was therefore invited to the palace, and such answers made him, that, on his return, he told the king of France, and those who had sent him, not to be under any uneasiness respecting the king of Castille or his council, for they would never enter into any treaties with England that should, in the smallest degree, be detrimental to those which had been formed between France and Castille.

If the king of Castille married his son to the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, according to the unanimous wish of his country, as the means of obtaining peace, and extinguishing all claims on his crown, it ought not to have given umbrage to the king of France nor to that nation; for the
king

king of Castille and his subjects were firmly resolved to adhere to every point of the treaties existing between them and France.

Such was the purport of the answer sir John de Vienne had brought from Castille. The king of Castille and the duke of Lancaster proceeded in the marriage, and a treaty of peace was amicably agreed on between them, by the before-mentioned commissioners, for the duke still resided in the Bordelais. He had come with his duchess and daughter from Bayonne to Bordeaux, where he was joyfully received, as they were desirous of his living among them, and thence had gone to Libourne*.

When it was known for certain, in the castle of the count de Foix, that the king of Castille had made peace with the duke of Lancaster, and had put an end to all his claims, by the marriage of his son with the lady Catherine of Lancaster, to whom he had given extensive territories in Castille, besides a large sum to the duke, amounting to two hundred thousand nobles, the count was greatly astonished, (for I was then present) and said; ‘ This king of Castille is a poor creature to make peace with a dead man; for I am sure the duke of Lancaster was in so bad a way he knew not where to turn himself. On my faith,’ continued the count, ‘ the duke is a man of ability, and has prudently managed this matter.’

* Libourne, a town on the confluence of the Dordogne and Garonne, five leagues north-east from Bordeaux.

It was about Christmas that the fleet of the earl of Arundel, which had been hovering the whole year along the coasts of Brittany, la Rochelle, Saintonge and the Bordelois, came to the shores of Normandy, and sailed by Carentan. It had indeed before landed at Cherbourg, and the earl seemed inclined to make war on that part of the country. The town of Carentan and its dependencies were under the command of the lord de Hambre and the lord de Torci, who had with them a considerable number of knights and squires of Normandy.

The earl of Arundel, learning how strongly it was garrisoned, passed by, thinking he might lose more than he could gain were he to attack it, and fell on another town, called Torigny*, which he took by storm, and gained great wealth by plundering it. They carried away many prisoners, and marched to the barriers of Bayeux, but only made a slight skirmish. The English passed the fords of St. Clement and did great damage to those parts; for they staid there for fifteen days without any one coming to oppose them.

The marshal de Blainville was indeed in Normandy; but he had no information of what was passing, or he would have provided a remedy. The English having finished their expedition, and done one hundred thousand francs of mischief to Normandy, made a prudent retreat, and, re-crossing

* Torigny, a town in Normandy, three leagues from St. Lo, eight from Coutances.

the fords, returned to Cherbourg, where they embarked their pillage safely on board the fleet : having weighed anchor, they took to the deep, and landed at Southampton. Such were the deeds done by this fleet, under the command of the earl of Arundel.

CHAP. LII.

THE LORD LEWIS DE SANCERRE VISITS THE COUNT DE FOIX AT ORTHES.—A DEED OF ARMS IS PERFORMED, BEFORE THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AT BORDEAUX, BETWEEN FIVE FRENCH AND FIVE ENGLISH MEN.

THE lord Lewis de Sancerre, marshal of France, at this time resided at Toulouse or Carcassone in Languedoc, and was well informed of the treaties that were in agitation between the duke of Berry and the count de Foix, for the marriage of the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom the duke wished to have, although the lady was very young. The marshal had a desire to visit the count de Foix at Orthès, and I believe (from the information I had from his people, who found me there at Christmas) the king of France had ordered him thither, and I will relate on what errand.

The king of France was at this period very young, though anxious to manage his government well.

well. He had never visited Languedoc, which is an extensive province filled with towns and castles, that had been almost ruined by the oppressions of the duke of Berry. Heavy complaints of this had been made to the king when he took the government into his own hands; and he said he would travel into Languedoc, and visit the pope, whom he had never yet seen, and he was likewise desirous of seeing the count de Foix, of whose largesses and valour he had heard so much.

The marshal de Sancerre left Toulouse with full five hundred horse, rode to Tarbes in Bigorre, and thence to Orthès in Béarn. The count de Foix, having had intimation of his coming, ordered the stewards of his household to have the town of Orthès properly prepared for his reception, as his visit gave him great pleasure. These orders were punctually obeyed, and lodgings were marked out in the town for the marshal's attendants, but he himself dismounted at the castle. The count de Foix went out of the town to meet him, attended by more than three hundred horse, and received him most kindly. The lord Lewis de Sancerre remained at Orthès about six days; and he then acquainted the count of the king's intended journey into Languedoc, and his desire to see him.

‘In good faith,’ replied the count de Foix, ‘he will be welcome there, and I will with pleasure wait on him.’ ‘Indeed, my lord,’ answered the marshal, ‘but it is the king’s wish to know on his arrival in Languedoc, plainly and openly, whether you mean to attach yourself to the French or to the English;

English; for in these wars you have dissembled your real sentiments, and have never borne arms either from summons or entreaties.'

'Ah, lord Lewis,' said the count de Foix, 'I give you many thanks for having spoken to me on this subject. If I have excused myself from bearing arms for either side, I have, as I think, good reasons for it: the wars between England and France no way concern me, for I hold my country of Béarn from God, my sword, and by inheritance. I have not, therefore, any cause to enter into the service, or incur the hatred of either of these kings. I know well, that my enemies, the Armagnacs, have done all in their power to put me in the ill graces of both monarchs; for before the prince of Wales marched into Spain, at the instigation of the count d'Armagnac, he would have made war on me, having a strong inclination for it, if sir John Chandos had not prevented him. Thanks, however, to God, I have always kept myself on my guard in as courteous a manner as possible, and shall continue to do so as long as I live: after my death, matters must take the turn that is natural for them.'

Thus did the count de Foix and the marshal de Sancerre converse as long as he staid. On his departure, the count presented him with a handsome courser, a fine mule and good hackney, all of them richly caparisoned. He gave also to sir Robert Challies, to sir Richard Dauphin, and to the knights of the marshal, two hundred francs each, and to five of his squires fifty francs.

When

When the marshal took his leave, to return to Toulouse, I wanted to accompany him; but the count de Foix would not allow me, and bade me stay longer with him. This I was forced to comply with, and wait his will. The lord Lewis, on leaving Orthès, took the road to Tarbes, whither he was escorted by the lord dauphin of Bigorre, and sir Peter Cabestan, one of the count de Foix's household.

About this time, of the year 1389, there was a deed of arms performed at Bordeaux, before the duke of Lancaster, between five Englishmen and the same number of French, of whom some were of the household of the marshal of France. The combatants were sir Pecton d'Allagine, a gascon Englishman, against sir Morice Manniguet, a Frenchman; sir Arragon Raymond, english, against the bastard de Chauvigny, french; sir Lewis Malapers, governor of Aigues-Mortes, english, against Jacquemin Corne de Cerf, french; Archibald de Villiers, french, against the son of the lord de Chaumont, gascon-english. Many knights and squires from Béarn, and of the household of the count de Foix, being desirous of seeing these combats, went thither: I accompanied them; for it is but twenty-four leagues from Orthès to Bordeaux, and we were spectators of these duels, which were fought in the square before St. Andrews, in the presence of the duke and duchess of Lancaster, their daughter, and the ladies and damsels of the country. They did not combat altogether, but each party separately; and were to perform

perform three courses with spears, three with swords, the same number with battle-axes, and three with daggers, all on horseback. The tiltings occupied three days, and were gallantly performed without any of the ten being wounded. Sir Raymond killed the horse of the bastard de Chauvigny, which greatly angered the duke of Lancaster: he blamed the knight much for having pointed his spear too low, and presented the bastard with one of his own horses.

Such was the end of this deed of arms, which being finished, every one returned to his own home.



CHAP. LIII.

THE DUCHESS OF LANCASTER CARRIES HER DAUGHTER TO CASTILLE, TO MARRY HER TO THE INFANT.—HAVING FOUND THE BONES OF HER FATHER, SHE HAS THEM CONVEYED TO SEVILLE, AND BURIED WITH REGAL OBSEQUIES.

SHORTLY after these deeds of arms, the duchess of Lancaster made preparations for her journey into Castille, whither she was to carry her daughter, to solemnize her marriage with the son of the king of Castille. It was her intention, when in Castille, to visit the field of battle of Monteil, where

her father, don Pedro, had lost his life, and make strict inquiries where his body had at that time been buried, which, when found, was to be taken up, and conveyed to the city of Seville, and magnificently interred there, in a manner becoming a king.

When in the month of March (1389) the sun began to have some force, and the days to lengthen, the duchess, having her array ready, set out from Bordeaux, and went to Bayonne, where she parted from the duke, who returned to Bordeaux. She and her ladies continued their journey to the city of Dax, where they were joyfully received, as that town belonged to England. They there reposed themselves for two days, and then pursued their road through the country of the Basques, the pass of Roncesvalles, and entered Navarre. At Pampluna, they found the king and queen of Navarre, who received them kindly : for the queen was sister to the king of Castille.

The duchess of Lancaster and her daughter were upwards of a month traversing Navarre, for they resided at different parts with the king and queen ; and wherever they went all their expenses were defrayed.

On their entrance into Castille, they were most respectfully treated by those of the king's household who had been sent to meet them : there were also deputies from different parts of the realm ; and the young prince was to have the title of prince of Galicia.

The marriage having been solemnised, and all contracts

contracts signed, the duchess left her daughter with the king and her young husband, who was then but eight years old. She took leave of the king to go to Monteil, as she had proposed, who had her attended by the greatest personages of his court. On her arrival at Monteil, such researches were made; that she discovered where her father had been buried, and had his bones taken up, washed and embalmed, and carried in a coffin to Seville, where the cavalcade was met by large processions from that town.

The bones were conveyed to the cathedral, and there most reverently buried, with very solemn obsequies, which were attended by king John of Castille, his son, the young prince of Galicia, and the greater part of the prelates and barons of the realm.

After the obsequies, each person returned home; the king of Castille, accompanied by his son and daughter-in-law, went to Val di Soria; but the duchess of Lancaster went to Medina del Campo, a handsome and large town, which now belonged to her by the late treaties of peace, and remained there some time.

We will leave speaking of her and of Castille; and relate the marriage of the duke of Berry, and other events which ensued.

CHAP. LIV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY NEGOTIATES SO SUCCESSFULLY
WITH THE COUNT DE FOIX, THAT HE SENDS TO HIM
HIS COUSIN OF BOULOGNE, WHOM HE INSTANTLY
MARRIES.

THE duke of Berry, whose first duchess, the lady Joan of Armagnac, had departed this life, was very impatient to marry again; for no sooner was he assured of having failed in his proposals to the duke of Lancaster than he set clerks to work, and, with proper messengers, sent to negotiate with the count de Foix for the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom he had had in wardship for nine years. Because the duke of Berry had no prospect of success but through the count de Foix, (who was of such a character that he would do nothing that was disagreeable to himself for either father, mother, pope, or any friend the young lady had,) he opened himself to his nephew the king of France and to his brother of Burgundy, entreating them earnestly to interfere in the business.

The king laughed most heartily at his uncle of Berry, who was now of a certain age, and said,—
' My good uncle, what will you do with a young girl

girl of only twelve years old, and you are sixty? On my faith, it is great folly in you to think of such things. Propose my fair cousin John, your son, to her, who is of a proper age, and a more suitable match.'

'My lord,' replied the duke, 'this has been proposed, but the count de Foix would not listen to it, because my son descends by the mother from the Armagnacs, and they are now and have been some time at war. If the girl is too young, I will spare her a while, until she be a perfect woman.'

'Indeed!' said the king, 'but, my bonny uncle, she will not spare you.' He then laughingly added, 'However, since we see your love for her is so strong, we will cheerfully assist you in the matter.'

Not long after this, the king ordered the lord de la Riviere, his first knight, steward of his household and chamberlain, to undertake a journey to Béarn, and with him the viscount d'Assy. The duke of Burgundy named, as envoys on his part, the bishop of Autun, and sir William de la Trimouille. The duke of Berry entreated a prudent and valiant knight, count John de Sancerre, to go thither on his part.

These five knights, who were appointed to demand this young lady in marriage, for the duke of Berry, from the count de Foix, left their homes, and were all to meet at Avignon. They staid with pope Clement, who was cousin-german to the father of the lady, full fifteen days, and about Candlemas

dlemas departed, taking the road through Nîmes and Montpellier to Toulouse.

They travelled, with great state and short journeys, unto Beziers and Carcassone, where they found the marshal de Sancerre, who received them very magnificently, as was right. He conversed with them concerning the count de Foix, of his affairs and establishments, for it was not more than two months since he had returned from thence.

From Carcassone they went to Toulouse, and there remained while they sent messengers to the count de Foix at Orthès. They opened their proposals of marriage, but distantly; for at the beginning the count was very cold, on account of the duke of Lancaster, who at the time resided at Bordeaux or Libourne, having made offers of his son, the earl of Derby, for the young lady of Boulogne; and it was thought, from the long time these lords remained at Toulouse, the marriage would not take effect.

They regularly sent daily and weekly accounts of their progress, and what answers they received from the count de Foix, to the duke of Berry, who resided at la Nonnette* in Auvergne, and the duke, whose only anxiety was to bring the matter to a conclusion, repeatedly wrote back to press them not to desist until they had completed the business.

The count de Foix, who was wise and subtle,

* La Nonnette, a town in Auvergne, election of Issoire.

feeling the ardour of the duke, treated very coldly, and managed the matter so well, that, with the consent, and indeed at the entreaty of all parties, he received thirty thousand francs for the time the young lady had been under his care and wardship. He might have had a larger sum, had he demanded it; but he wished to shew moderation, that he might have their thanks, and also that the duke of Berry should feel himself under some obligations to him.

When every thing was concluded, the count de Foix sent the young lady of Boulogne to Morlans, escorted by five hundred lances under the command of sir Espaign du Lyon, sir Reginald William, sir Peter de Cabestan, sir Adam de Cacasse, sir Manaut Nouailles and sir Peter de Kes. She was there delivered, in the name of the duke of Berry, to the ambassadors from France, who were escorted by the marshal of France with five hundred spears, and there the two parties separated.—Those from Foix returned home, and the French carried with them the lady.

The duke of Berry had sent to her his array of cars and horses, with every sort of dress and ornament for her head, as if she had been queen of France. I, John Froissart, the author of this history, took my departure from Orthès at the same time with her; for the count de Foix had told me I need not be in a hurry to leave him, for he would take care I should return in good company.

The duchess of Berry, for such I shall henceforth

forth call her, continued her journey until she came to Avignon, when she dismounted at lodgings provided for her by the pope at Villeneuve without Avignon. On the morrow, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, all the cardinals waited on her; when, having mounted a white palfrey the pope had given her, she crossed the bridge over the Rhône in great state, and waited on the pope at his palace at Avignon, who was seated in consistory on his papal throne to receive her. He kissed her on the mouth on account of their relationship; and the duchess, with her company, then went to dinner at the hôtel of the cardinal of Turin, below the pope's palace, and there met a great company of cardinals. This was on a Tuesday: the following day the pope entertained her and her attendants at dinner; and this visit of the duchess, as I have heard say, cost the pope ten thousand francs.

On the Friday she supped at the palace, and took leave of the pope. On the Saturday she departed, and dined and lay at Orange. She continued her journey on horseback, or in a carriage, through Valence and Vienne, to Lyon, where she reposed herself for two whole days. On her departure, she went to la Bresse, then passing through the country of Forêts, came to la Palisse in Burgundy, then to Quissy, to Hanche-sur-Allier, and to Riom in Auvergne, where she likewise remained two days before the duke of Berry arrived. He came thither in great state the night of Whitsunday, and on that day, at two o'clock in the morning, he
was

was married to her. The marriage was very magnificent, and there were present the count de Boulogne, the count d'Estampes and the count dauphin d'Auvergne. The feasting and tournaments lasted for four days, and I, the writer of this book, was a partaker of them all.

CHAP. LV.

CERTAIN PRUDENT MEN NEGOTIATE A TRUCE, FOR THREE YEARS, BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH, AND ALL THEIR ALLIES.

YOU have heard that a truce had been concluded with all the English garrisons from the Loire to the country beyond the Garonne and Gironde, to last until Saint John the Baptist's day 1389.—During this time, some wise and great lords opened a negotiation for a general truce between France and England, on sea and land, for three years. It was the intention of these persons that all the allies of either side should be included in it, such as the kings of Castille and Scotland, the king of Portugal, and many barons of Upper Gascony. They had much trouble before they could accomplish this; for the Scots would no way listen to it, though, when the proposal was first made by the king of France to the king of Scotland, he himself

self had readily assented, for he wished not for war. He summoned, therefore, the prelates and barons of his realm, to lay the matter before them, as he could not agree to this truce for the kingdom without their consent; and, if he had, they would not have abided by it.

The letters which had been received from the king of France were read in their presence, containing his wish that they would agree with him for a truce of three years. This intelligence was very disagreeable to them, and they said,—‘The king of France seems to propose a truce, when it is the moment to continue the war: we have completely defeated the English at Otterbourne; and the season is not so far advanced, but that we may do it again and again.’ Many debates ensued, for they were very unwilling to accept of a truce. It was at length resolved to send a bishop and three knights to the king of France and his council, to prevent the treaty from being further advanced, and to offer the friendship of the realm of Scotland.

The bishop of St. Andrews, sir Archibald Douglas, sir William Lindsay and sir John Sinclair, were appointed on this embassy. They departed as speedily as they could, and, having landed at Sluys, rode on to Paris.

They laid their credential letters, from the prelates and barons of Scotland, before the king of France and his council, and were readily listened to, from the great desire they had to prosecute the war against the English. But, notwithstanding this, the treaty was now so far advanced, that they could
not

not retract : the Scots, therefore, had very civil answers given them ; but the treaty was, of necessity, completed.

The truce was concluded, through the means of commissioners of high rank on both sides, who held their conferences at Leulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais. In it were included all the allies of France and England, who agreed to preserve the peace inviolate, by every means, public or private, for the space of three years.

The commissioners from the king of France were the bishop of Bayeux, count Waleran de Saint Pol, sir William de Melun, sir Nicholas Bracque and sir John le Mercier, who resided at Boulogne. On the part of the king of England were the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, sir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais, John Lanon, Nicholas de Gaberth and Richard Roelle, clerk and doctor of laws, who remained at Calais. The place of conference, where they mutually assembled, was at Lulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais.

At this period, there was much bustle in France and elsewhere, on account of the splendid feasts king Charles intended holding at Paris, on the entry of his queen Isabella, who had never as yet visited that city. Knights, squires, ladies, and damsels made the richest dresses for the occasion, of all which I will give an exact account, before I say more of the truce that was fairly written out, and sealed by all the parties.

CHAP. LVI.

PROISSART RELATES HIS TRAVELS AFTER HE HAD
LEFT ORTHES.

YOU who take delight in this history must know, that on my leaving the castle of the noble count Gaston de Foix, I returned through Auvergne and France in company with the gallant lord de la Riviere and sir William de la Trimouille, who had conducted the lady Jane of Boulogne to the duke of Berry in the town of Riom, where he had married her, as has been related; for, having been present at all these feasts, I may well speak of them. I went thence to Paris, where I met the noble lord de Coucy, one of my patrons, who had lately married a daughter to the duke of Lorraine.

The lord de Coucy entertained me kindly, and asked many questions about Foix, Béarn, pope Clement, and Avignon as well as concerning the nuptials of the duke of Berry, and of a particular friend of his, and likewise one of my patrons, the lord Berald dauphin of Auvergne. To all his questions I satisfied him as to what I knew, or had seen, inasmuch that he was well pleased, and said,—
“You shall come with me into Cambresis, for I
am

am going to a castle the king has given me called Crevecœur: it is two leagues from Cambray, and nine from Valenciennes.' 'The distances are very right, my lord,' replied I, and accepted his offer. On the road, he told me, that the bishop of Bayeux, the count de Saint Pol, sir William de Melun and sir John le Mercier, were at Boulogne by orders from the king of France; and that there were at Calais, on the part of king Richard of England, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, sir William Beauchamp governor of Calais, sir John Clambon, sir Nicholas Grandbourg, knights and chamberlains to the king of England, and sir Richard Rocharle * doctor of laws; who had remained at Boulogne and Calais upwards of a month, waiting for commissioners from Scotland, who were not arrived six days ago, as my cousin Saint Pol writes me word. The king of France has therefore written to king Robert of Scotland, to press him to accept of the truce, for

* Clambon,—Grandbourg,—Rocharle. These names are different in almost all the copies, MS. or printed. They are called Lanon, L'afnon—Gaberth, Gunborch—Roolle and Rohale. Lord Berners retains them as in the preceding chapter, but totally omits them in this. The treaty, which is at length in Rymer, has the names as follows. Those from France are also different from Froissart.

The bishop of Durham,—sir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais,—sir John Devereux, steward of the king's household,—sir John Clanvow, sir Nicholas Daggeworth, knights of the king's chamber.

the English will not consent to it unless the Scots be included.

Thus continuing our journey, we came to Crevecœur, where I remained with him three days to repose and refresh myself, when I took leave and went to Valenciennes. After staying there a fortnight, I went to Holland, to visit my gallant patron and lord the count de Blois, whom I found at Schoënhoven. He made me good cheer, and inquired after news. I told him enough of all I had seen or heard, and was with him upwards of a month, as well at Gouda as Schoenhoven, and then took leave to return to France, to learn the particulars of the conferences that were holding at Leulinghem, between the French and English, and likewise to be present at the magnificent feasts that were to be given at queen Isabella's public entry into Paris, where as yet she had never been*.

* Underneath is the translation of a note, vol. iii. p. 85. of M. Levesque's history of the five first kings of the race of Valois.

One would be tempted to believe from the recitals of our historians, that the queen, who had now been married four years, made this her first entry into Paris. It is a mistake. She was there in 1386, when Charles wrote to her, the 28th April, from Mondidier, to send to Amiens the amount of the taxes, and to hasten all the men at arms and foreigners that were intended for the invasion of England from Paris. He orders her at the same time to proclaim war against the Flemings and their allies. One may conjecture from this letter, that he had entrusted her with the regency.

To

Herbert and Morgan

To learn the most I could, I travelled through Brabant, and managed to arrive at Paris eight days before the commencement of the feasts. I had so much forethought, respecting the french and scots lords who had been at the conférences at Leulinghem, that I made acquaintance with sir William de Melun, who related to me all their transactions, and that the count de St. Pol had passed over to England to visit his brother-in-law king Richard, and to have the truce confirmed, which was to last for three years; but he said he would be here at all events to partake of the feasts. I asked sir William, 'what lords the Scots had sent to the conference; for that in my younger days I had been in Scotland as far as the Highlands, and as at that time I was at the court of king David, I was acquainted with the greater part of the nobility of that country.' He told me, 'that the bishop of Aberdeen, sir James and sir David Lindsay, and sir Walter Sinclair, were the commissioners for Scotland*.' All this I carefully remembered, that I might enregister it in my chronicle, with all I should see or hear at this grand feast of queen Isabella's entry, the arrangement of which was as follows.

* The scots commissioners are evidently wrong. The finest MS. in the British Museum has sir Archibald and sir William Lindsay, and sir John Sinclair. But in Rymer there is mention only made of the cardinal of Glasgow and bishop of Dunkeld.

CHAP. LVII.

QUEEN ISABELLA OF FRANCE MAKES HER PUBLIC
ENTRY INTO THE CITY OF PARIS.

ON Sunday the 20th day of June*, in the year of our Lord 1399, there were such crowds of people in Paris, it was marvellous to see them; and on this Sunday, the noble ladies of France who were to accompany the queen assembled in the afternoon at Saint Denis, with such of the nobility as were appointed to lead the litters of the queen and her attendants. The citizens of Paris, to the amount of twelve hundred, were mounted on horseback, dressed in uniforms of green and crimson, and lined each side of the road.

Queen Joan and her daughter†, the duchess of

* *June.* My MSS. and that in the B. Museum have the 20th of *August*.

† *Queen Joan and her daughter.* I suspect there must be some mistake, although this paragraph is in all the editions I know of, printed and MS.; but I cannot discover who these personages were, for all the queens of that name were dead, the last of them the preceding year, and the duke of Touraine, the king's brother, succeeded to the title of duke of Orleans on the death of Philip in 1391: he had been lately married to Valentina of Milan, who is mentioned afterwards as forming part of the procession.

Orleans,

Orleans, entered Paris first, about an hour after noon, in a covered litter, and, passing through the great street of Saint Denis, went to the palace where the king was waiting for them, and this day they went no farther.

The queen of France, attended by the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, the duchess of Lorraine, the countess of Nevers, the lady of Coucy, with a crowd of other ladies began the procession in open litters most richly ornamented. The duchess of Touraine was not in a litter, but to display herself the more, was mounted on a palfrey magnificently caparisoned.

The litter of the queen was led by the dukes of Touraine and Bourbon at the head; the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were at the centre, and the lord Peter de Navarre and the count d'Ostrevant behind the litter, which was open and beautifully ornamented. The duchess of Touraine followed, on her palfrey, led by the count de la Marche and the count de Nevers, the whole advancing slowly, at a foot's pace. After her came the duchess of Burgundy and her daughter, the lady Margaret of Hainault, in an open litter, led by the lord Henry de Bar, and sir William, the young count de Namur. Then came the duchess of Berry, and the daughter of the lord de Coucy, in an open and ornamented litter, led by sir James de Bourbon and sir Philip d'Artois. Then the duchess of Bar and her daughter, led by sir Charles d'Albret and the lord de Coucy. There was no particular mention

made of the other ladies and damsels who followed in covered chariots, or on palfreys, led by their knights. Serjeants, and others of the king's officers, had full employment, in making way for the procession, and keeping off the crowd; for there were such numbers assembled, it seemed as if all the world had come thither.

At the gate of Saint Denis, that opens into Paris, was the representation of a starry firmament, and within it were children dressed as angels, whose fingering and chaunting was melodiously sweet.— There was also an image of the Virgin holding in her arms a child, who at times amused himself with a windmill, made of a large walnut. The upper part of this firmament was richly adorned with the arms of France and Bavaria, with a brilliant sun dispersing its rays through the heavens; and this sun was the king's device at the ensuing tournaments*.

The queen of France and the ladies took delight in viewing this as they passed, as indeed did all who saw it. The queen then advanced slowly to the fountain, in the street of Saint Denis, which was covered and decorated with fine blue cloth, besprinkled over with golden flower de luces. The pillars that furrounded the fountain were ornamented with the arms of the chief barons of France; and, instead of water, it ran in great

* Louis XIV. took the same device, with the motto of 'Ne plusibus impar.'

streams of Clairé* and excellent Piemont†. Around this fountain were young girls handsomely dressed, having on their heads caps of solid gold, who sang so sweetly, it was a pleasure to hear them; and they held in their hands cups of gold, offering their liquors to all who chose to drink. The queen stopped there to hear and look at them, as did the ladies as they passed by.

Below the monastery of the Trinity, there was a scaffold erected in the street, and on this scaffold a castle, with a representation of the battle with king Saladin, performed by living actors: the Christians on one side, and the Saracens on the other. All the lords of renown, who had been present, were represented with their blazoned war-coats, such as were worn in those times. A little above was the person of the king of France, surrounded by his twelve peers, in their proper arms; and when the queen came opposite the scaffold, king Richard was seen to leave his companions and advance to the king of France, to request permission to fight the Saracens, which having obtained, he returns to his army, who instantly begin the attack on Saladin and the Saracens. The battle lasted for a considerable time, and was seen with much pleasure.

The procession then passed on, and came to the

* Clairé,—I cannot find.

† Piemont—is a liquor made of honey, wine and different spices.—DU CANGE.

second gate of Saint Denis*, where, like to the first, there had been made a representation of a richly starred firmament, with the holy Trinity seated in great majesty, and within the heaven little children as angels singing very melodiously.—As the queen passed under the gate, two angels descended from above, holding an extraordinarily rich golden crown, ornamented with precious stones, which they gently placed on the head of the queen, sweetly singing the following verses :

‘ Dame, enclose entre fleurs de Lys,
Reine êtes vous de Paris,
De France, et de tout le país.
Nous en r’allons en paradis.’

When they came opposite to the chapel of St. James, they found a scaffold erected on the right hand, richly decorated with tapestry, surrounded with curtains, in the manner of a chamber : within which were men who played finely on organs.—The whole street of Saint Denis was covered with a canopy of rich camlet and silk cloths, as if they had had the cloths for nothing, or were at Alexandria or Damascus. I, the writer of this account, was present, and astonished whence such quantities of rich stuffs and ornaments could have come ; for all

* Denys Sauvage, in a marginal note, says, ‘ that he thinks this gate was called la Porte aux Peintres,’ and was pulled down in the reign of Francis I.

It was called Porte aux Peintres, because many painters resided near it.—SAUVAL.

the houses on each side the great street of St. Denis, as far as the Châtelet, or indeed to the great bridge*, were hung with tapestries, representing various scenes and histories, to the delight of all beholders.

The queen and her ladies, conducted by great lords in their litters, arrived at length at the gate of the Châtelet, where they stopped to see other splendid pageants that had been prepared for them. At the gate of the Châtelet was erected a castle of wood, with towers, strong enough to last forty years. At each of the battlements was a knight completely armed from head to foot; and in the castle was a superb bed, as finely decorated with curtains, and every thing else, as if for the chamber of the king, and this bed was called the bed of justice, in which lay a person to represent St. Anne. On the esplanade, before the castle, (which comprehended a tolerably large space) was a warren and much brush-wood, within which were plenty of hares, rabbits and young birds, that fled out and in again for fear of the populace. From this wood, on the side near the queen, there issued a large white hart, that made for the bed of justice; from another part came forth a lion and eagle, well represented, and proudly advanced towards the stag. Then twelve young maidens, richly dressed,

* Denys Sauvage says, he means by the *great* bridge, the bridge of Notre Dame.

with

with chaplets of gold on their heads, came out of the wood, holding naked swords in their hands, and placed themselves between the hart, the lion and eagle, shewing that, with their swords, they were determined to defend the hart and the bed of justice.

The queen, the ladies and lords, having seen this pageant with pleasure, passed on, to the bridge of Nôtre Dame, which was decorated so handsomely, it could not be amended : it was covered with a starry canopy, of green and crimson, and the streets were all hung with tapestry as far as the church of Nôtre Dame. When the queen and her ladies had passed the bridge, and were near the church, it was late in the evening ; for the procession, ever since it had set out from St. Denis, had advanced but a foot's pace.

The great bridge of Paris was hung all its length with green and white farcenet ; but before the queen and her company entered Nôtre Dame, she was presented with other pageants that delighted her and her ladies very much : I will describe them.

A full month before the queen's entry to Paris, a master-engineer from Geneva had fastened a cord to the highest tower of Nôtre Dame, which, passing high above the streets, was fixed to the most elevated house on the bridge of St. Michael. As the queen was passing down the street of Nôtre Dame, this man left the tower, and, seating himself on the cord, descended singing, with two
lighted

lighted torches in his hand, for it was now dark, to the great astonishment of all who saw him, how he could do it. He kept the lighted torches in his hands that he might be seen by all Paris, and even two or three leagues off. He played many tricks on the rope, and his agility was highly praised.

The bishop of Paris and his numerous clergy, clothed in their robes, were without the church of Notre Dame waiting for the queen, who was helped out of her litter by the four dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Touraine and Bourbon. When the other ladies had left their litters, and dismounted from their palfreys, they all entered the church in grand procession, preceded by the bishop and priests, singing aloud to the praise of God and the virgin Mary.

The queen was conducted through the nave and choir to the great altar, where, on her knees, she made her prayers according as she thought good, and presented, as her offering, four cloths of gold and the handsome crown which the angels had put on her head at the gate of Paris, as has been related. The lord John de la Riviere and sir John le Mercier instantly brought one more rich, with which they crowned her.

This being done, the queen and her ladies returned to their litters, wherein they were seated as before; and, as it was late, there were upwards of five hundred lighted tapers attending the procession. In such array were they conducted to the palace, where the king, queen Joan, and the dukes
chefs

chefs of Orleans, were waiting for them *. The ladies here quitted their litters, and were conducted to different apartments; and the lords, after the dancing, returned to their hôtels†.

On the morrow, which was Monday, the king gave a grand dinner to a numerous company of

* Denys Sauvage, in a marginal note, says, that this queen Joan was the widow of Charles le Bel, and her daughter Blanche married to Philip duke of Orleans, brother to the late king John.

† Froissart has mentioned them before: but the widow of Charles le Bel died, according to *l'Art de Verifier les Dates*, at Brie-comte-Robert, 1370, and queen Isabella's entry was in 1389.

† Froissart having omitted a curious circumstance that happened at this entry of the queen, I shall translate it from *Les Grands Chroniques de St. Denis*.

'The king, having heard what fine pageants were preparing, said to Savoisi, who was one of his valets de chambre, 'Savoisi, I beg that thou wouldst mount my good horse, and I will get up behind thee; and we will disguise ourselves so that no one shall know us, and go and see the entry of my wife.'—Savoisi did all he could to dissuade the king from this, but the king would be obeyed. They therefore disguised themselves, and the king rode behind Savoisi to different parts of Paris.—They came to the Châtelet as the queen was passing, and the crowd was so great, that Savoisi got into the midst. Bailiffs, armed with staves, had been stationed there to prevent any harm being done to the pageant, who laid about them most lustily to keep off the crowd. Savoisi and the king, still pushing forward, the bailiffs, who knew not the king, gave to each several sharp blows on their shoulders. In the evening, the king told the ladies what had happened to him at the Châtelet, and there was much laughing and joking on the occasion among them.'

ladies;

ladies ; and, at the hour of high mass, the queen of France was led by the before-mentioned dukes to the holy chapel, where she was anointed and sanctified as queens of France usually are. Sir William de Viare, archbishop of Rouen, said mass. After mass, which was well and solemnly sung, the king and queen returned to their apartments, as did the other ladies to theirs, who lodged in the palace.

Shortly after the mass, the king, queen and all the ladies entered the hall. You must know, that the great table of marble*, which is in this hall, and is never removed, was covered with an oaken plank four inches thick, and the royal dinner placed thereon. Near the table, and against one of the pillars, was the king's buffet magnificently decked out with gold and silver plate, and much envied by many who saw it. Before the king's table, and at some distance, were wooden bars, with three entrances, at which were serjeants at arms, ushers, and archers, to prevent any from passing them but

* ' At one end of the hall of the palace was placed a marble table that filled up almost the whole breadth of it, and was of such a size for length, breadth, and thickness, that it was supposed to be the greatest slab of marble existing.

' It served, for two or three hundred years, very different purposes : at one time, for a theatre, on which the attorneys' clerks acted their mummeries, and at another for the royal feasts, where only emperors, kings and princes of the blood were admitted with their ladies : the other great lords dined at separate tables. It was consumed by fire in 1618.—*Sauval Antiquités de Paris*.

those

those who served the table ; for in truth, the crowd was so very great, there was no moving but with much difficulty. There were plenty of minstrels, who played away to the best of their abilities.

The kings, prelates and ladies, having washed and seated themselves at table, their places were as follows : the bishop of Noyon was seated at the head of the king's table, then the bishop of Langres, and then the archbishop of Rouen, by the side of the king of France, who was that day clothed in a crimson surcoat, lined with ermine, and the royal crown on his head. A little above the king was the queen, crowned also very richly. Next the queen was placed the king of Armenia, then the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, madame de Nevers, mademoiselle Bonne de Bar, madame de Coucy and Mademoiselle Marie de Harcourt.— There were none others at the king's table, except at the very lower end, the lady de Sully, wife of sir Guy de la Trimouille.

There were two other tables in the hall, at which were seated upwards of five hundred ladies and damsels ; but the crowd was so great, it was with difficulty they could be served with their dinner, which was plentiful and sumptuous. Of this it is not worth the trouble to give any particulars ; but I must speak of some devices which were curiously arranged, and would have given the king much amusement, had those who had undertaken it been able to act their parts.

In the middle of the hall was erected a castle of wood,

wood, forty feet high, twenty feet long, and as many wide, with towers at each corner, and one larger in the middle. This castle was to represent the city of Troy the great, and the tower in the middle, the palace of Ilion, from which were displayed the banners of the Trojans, such as king Priam, Hector, his other sons, and of those shut up in the place with them. The castle, being on wheels, was very easily moved about. There was a pavilion likewise on wheels, on which were placed the banners of the grecian kings, that was moved, as it were, by invifible beings, to the attack of Troy. There was also, by way of reinforcement, a large fhip well built, and able to contain one hundred men at arms, that, like the two former, was ingeniously moved by invifible wheels. Thofe in the fhip and pavilion made a fharp attack on the caſtle, which was gallantly defended; but, from the very great crowd, this amufement could not laſt long. There were fo many people on all fides, feveral were ſtified by the heat; and one table, near the door of the chamber of parliament, at which a numerous company of ladies and damfels were feated, was thrown down, and the company forced to make off as well as they could.

The queen of France was near fainting, from the exceffive heat, and one of the doors was forced to be thrown open to admit air. The lady of Coucy was in the ſame ſituation. The king, noticing this, ordered an end to be put to the feaſt, when the tables were removed, for the ladies to have more room. Wine and ſpices were ſerved around, and
every

every one retired when the king and queen went to their apartments. Those ladies who did not lodge in the palace returned to their hôtels, to recover themselves of their sufferings from the heat and crowd.

The lady of Coucy remained in her hôtel until it was late ; but the queen, about five o'clock, left the palace, attended by the duchesses before named, and, mounting an open litter, proceeded through the streets of Paris, followed by the ladies in litters or on horseback, to the residence of the king, at the hôtel de St. Pol. She was attended by upwards of one thousand horse. The king took boat at the palace, and was rowed to his hôtel, which though it was sufficiently large, there had been erected in the court, at the entrance leading to the Seine, an immense hall, covered with undressed cloths of Normandy, that had been sent from divers places : the sides were hung with tapestry, that represented strange histories, and gave delight to all who saw them.

In this hall the king entertained the ladies at a banquet ; but the queen remained in her chamber, where she supped, and did not again appear that night. The king, lords and ladies, danced and amused themselves until day-break, when the amusements ceased, and every one retired to his home, each of them to sleep and repose themselves, as it was full time.

I will now speak of the presents the Parisians made to the king, queen and duchess of Touraine, who was but lately arrived in France from Lombardy :

bardy : she was called Valentine, and was daughter to the duke of Milan. She had this year been married to the duke of Touraine, and had never been in Paris before this public entry of the queen ; the citizens, therefore, were bound to bid her welcome.

About twelve o'clock, forty of the principal citizens of Paris, all uniformly dressed, waited on the king at his hôtel of Saint Pol, bringing a present they had displayed through the streets of the town. Their gift was in a very richly worked litter, borne by two strong men dressed as savages. This litter was covered with a transparent crape of silk, through which might be seen the magnificent things it contained.

On their arrival, they advanced to the king's chamber (which was open and ready prepared to receive them, as their coming was known, and welcome is always made to those who bring gifts) ; and, having placed the litter on tressels in the midst of the apartment, they cast themselves on their knees, and thus spoke : " Most beloved lord and king, your citizens of your good town of Paris present to you the plate that is contained in this litter, as tokens of their joy that you have taken the government of the kingdom into your own hands.'

' Many thanks, my good people,' replied the king : ' they are fair and rich.' The citizens then rose up, and, having taken leave of the king, withdrew. When they were gone, the king said to fir
William

William des Bordes and to Montaigne*, who were then present, 'Let us go nearer, and examine what their gifts are.' They approached, and looked into the litter. I will now mention what presents it contained.

First, there were four pots of gold, four saucers to match, four golden salts, twelve cups of the

* M. Levesque says, that Charles owed his popularity to the wife choice he had made of the under-mentioned ministers.—La Riviere, who had deserved the friendship of the wisest of kings:—Noviant, charged with the superintendence of the finances, was of the order of nobility, though without fortune, —and Montaigne, born in obscurity, raised himself by his talents;—but, above all, the duke of Bourbon, who had preserved his integrity, though he had been joined in the regency with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

'This John de Montaigne, grand master of the household, and superintendant of the finances to Charles VI. was accused of having robbed the king, and was condemned to be beheaded. This was done without the king's knowledge, at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy and the king of Navarre. He was beheaded in the market-place of Paris, the 17th October 1409, and his remains were carried to the gibbet at Montfaucon, where they remained hanging for nearly three years, since his body was not taken down until the 17th September 1412, and carried to the convent of the Celestins of Marcouffi, which he had founded.

'Although he was executed without the knowledge of the king, he did not the less allow the confiscation of his property, to be given to Louis, duke de Guienne, dauphin.

'I was, however, informed by M. Perron, who has carefully applied himself to learn the particulars of the life of this lord, that his property was restored to his heirs.'—MÉNAGIANA.

same,

same, twelve porringers, and six dishes of gold also: the whole weighed one hundred and fifty marcs.

Another party of citizens, very handsomely equipped in uniforms of cloth, waited on the queen, and presented her with a litter borne by two men dressed, one as a bear, the other as a unicorn, which they placed in her chamber, and the citizens recommended their town and inhabitants to her protection. This present consisted of the model of a ship in gold, two large flaggons of gold, two comfit boxes, two salts, six cups, and as many saucers, all of gold: twelve lamps of silver, two silver basins, two dozen of silver porringers, the same number of silver cups: the whole weight of gold and silver being three hundred marcs.

The third present was carried, in like manner, to the chamber of the duchess of Touraine, by two men representing Moors, having their faces blackened, and richly dressed with white turbans, as if they had been Saracens or Tartars. This litter was ornamented, and covered, like the others, with gauze, and accompanied by twelve citizens in uniforms, who presented the duchess with a ship in gold; a large flaggon of gold, two comfit boxes, two large dishes, and two salts, all of gold: six jugs of silver, and two dozen cups and saucers of the same: the whole weighing two hundred marcs.

The duchess of Touraine was exceedingly pleased with this present, as she had reason, for it was very
magni-

magnificent, and returned handsomely her thanks to those who had brought it, and to the good city of Paris that had given it to her.

Such were the gifts made this Tuesday to the king and queen of France, and to the duchess of Touraine. You may judge from them the liberality and riches of the Parisians; for it was assured me, the author of this history, that all these presents which I saw had cost upwards of sixty thousand golden crowns.

When these ceremonies were concluded, the hour for dinner arrived; but this day the king and his court dined in private at their different hôtels, for at three o'clock the tournament was to take place in the square of Saint Catherine, where scaffolds had been erected for the accommodation of the queen and the ladies.

I will name the knights of this grand tournament, who were styled the Knights of the Golden Sun, which, although it was that day the king of France's device, was borne by others, who tilted in hopes of gaining the prize. These knights were thirty, including the king; first, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, sir James de Bourbon his brother, sir William de Namur, sir Oliver de Clifson constable of France, sir John de Vienne, sir James de Vienne lord d'Espaigny, sir Guy de la Trimouille, sir William de la Trimouille his brother, sir Philip de Bar, the lord de Rochefort a Breton, the lord de Rais, the lord de Beaumanoir, sir John de Barbençon called the Ardenois, the halze of Flanners,

ders, the lord de Torcy a Normand, sir John des Barres, the lord de Nantouillet, the lord de la Rochefoucault, the lord de Garencieres, sir John de Harpedant, the baron d'Ury, sir William Marciel, sir Reginald de Roye, sir Geoffry de Carin, sir Charles de Changiet and sir William de Lignac.

All these knights were sumptuously dressed, and each had on his shield a splendid sun. At three o'clock, they entered the square of St. Catherine, where the queen had already arrived in a magnificent car, and the duchesses and other ladies in great state, and taken their places on the seats prepared for them. The king of France next made his appearance completely equipped for tilting, of which amusement he was very fond.

The jousts now began, and were carried on with vigour, for there were many knights from foreign parts. Sir William de Hainault, count d'Ostrevant, tilted right well, as did those knights who had accompanied him, such as the lord de Gormines, sir John d'Andregines, the lord de Cantan, sir Ansel de Transfegines and sir Clinquart de Herinno. Every one performed his part, in honour of the ladies; and the duke of Ireland tilted well: being then a resident at Paris, the king had invited him to the tournament. A german knight from beyond the Rhine, called sir Gervais de Mirande, gained great commendation.

The number of knights made it difficult to give a full stroke, and the dust was so troublesome that it increased their difficulties. The lord de Coucy

shone with brilliancy. The tilts were continued without relaxation until night, when the ladies were conducted to their hôtels.

The queen of France and her attendants were led back to the hôtel of St. Pol, where was the most magnificent banquet for the ladies ever heard of. The feast and dancing lasted until sun-rise, and the prize of the tournament was given, with the assent of the ladies and heralds, to the king, as being the best tilter on the opponents' side, and the prize for the holders of the lifts was given to the halze de Flandres, bastard-brother to the duchess of Burgundy.

On account of the complaints the knights made of the dust which had prevented many from exerting themselves to the utmost at the late tournament, the king ordered the lifts to be watered.—Two hundred water-carriers were employed on the Wednesday to water the square, but, notwithstanding their efforts, there was still a sufficiency of dust.

The count de St. Pol arrived this Wednesday straight from England, having made haste to be present at these feasts, and had left sir John de Châtel-morant to follow with the treaty of the truce. The count de St. Pol was kindly received by the king and his lords: his countess, who had been near the person of the queen at these festivals, was rejoiced at his arrival.

In the afternoon of the Wednesday, thirty squires, who had been in attendance the preceding day, advanced to the lifts where the tournaments
had

had been held, whither the ladies also came, in the same state, and seated themselves as before. The tilting was ably and vigorously kept up until night, when the company returned to their homes. The banquet this evening at the hôtel de St. Pol was as grand as the preceding one, and the prize was adjudged by the ladies and heralds to a squire from Hainault, who had accompanied the count d'Of-trevant, called John de Flaron, as the most deserving of the opponents, and to a squire belonging to the duke of Burgundy, called John de Poulceres, for the best of the tenants of the field.

The tournament was continued on the Thursday, when knights and squires tilted promiscuously, and many gallant jousts were done, for every one took pains to excel. Night put an end to it, and there was a grand entertainment again for the ladies, at the hôtel de St. Pol, when the prize for the opponents was given to sir Charles des Armoyses, and for the tenants, to a squire attached to the queen, called Lons.

On the Friday, the king feasted the ladies and damsels at dinner, which was very splendid and plentiful. Towards the end of it, as the king was seated at table, with the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, the countess de Saint Pol, the lady of Cacy, and many more, two knights, completely armed, entered the hall, (which was very spacious, having been, as I have said, erected for the occasion) on barded horses, with lances in their hands. One was sir Reginald de Roze, the other sir Boucicaut.

the younger. Having tilted bravely for some time, they were joined by sir William de Namur, sir Charles des Armoyes, the lord de Garençieres, the lord de Nantouillet, sir John de Barbençon and several others, who gallantly tilted for two hours before the king and ladies; and, when they had sufficiently amused themselves, they returned to their hôtels.

The ladies and damsels took their leave, this Friday, of the king and queen, as did such lords as pleased, and returned to their homes. The king and queen thanked very graciously such as took leave, for having come to this feast.

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